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The WHITE PERIL IN THE FAR EAST

SIDNEY L. GULICK

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THE WHITE PERIL IN THE FAR EAST

An Interpretation of the Significance of the Russo-Japanese War

By
SIDNEY LEWIS GULICK, M. A., D. D.

NEW YORK CHICAGO TORONTO
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Preface

On the 8th of February, 1904, Japan crossed swords with a European people. And from the destruction of the *Variag* on that day until the fall of Port Arthur on the 1st of January, 1905, nothing but failure has been Russia's fate, nothing but success Japan's fortune. For the first time in history has an Asiatic people successfully faced a white foe. The Russo-Japanese war marks an era, therefore, in the history of the Far East, and of the world, for now begins a readjustment of the balance of power among the nations, a readjustment which promises to halt the territorial expansion of white races and to check their racial pride.

To appreciate the significance of this war as one act in the tragedy of the white peril we must understand Japan. How has she attained the power, material and temperamental, which is enabling her to face the white man and to conquer him? This question we study in our earlier chapters. In those that follow we study the significance of the war, and the problems of the Far East in their world-setting. We are not con-

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cerned with dates and battles, with armies and heroes. Rather shall we consider movements and tendencies, national ambitions and international relations.

Emphasis is laid on the peril to the Far East of the white man's ambitions and methods. Justice to white races, however, demands recognition also of the blessings they confer upon those lands. In a real sense the white peril is becoming the white blessing of the Orient. Yet the aim of the present work in these pages precludes adequate emphasis of this point.

Certain graceful writers, masters of imaginative style, have described Japan as ideal in every direction, a view widely popularized to-day by Japan's brilliant military record. But of course no thoughtful man will be misled, for national as well as individual perfection is impossible. Highly admiring Japan as I do, absence of criticism in the following pages does not signify acceptance of the popular unbalanced admiration.

Whatever value this work may have must be ascribed in large measure to my Japanese friends whose thought as to their national character and destiny and the real meaning of this war has definitely influenced my own point of view.

I wish also to express the deepest gratitude to

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my sister, Mrs. Frances Gulick Jewett, for her inspiration in the inception of this study and for her laborious and invaluable assistance in revising the manuscript. Indeed this volume owes to her pen whatever of literary excellence it may possess.

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The White Peril in the Far East

I

PRE-MEIJI TIMES

"MEIJI" means "enlightened rule." This term was chosen by the present Emperor as the official title of the period covered by his rule. The present year (1905) is called in Japan Meiji 38, that is, the thirty-eighth year of Enlightened Rule, and the designation itself doubtless characterizes the Imperial purpose. From the start he and his councillors determined to depart from many ancient customs, notably those of international isolation.

To appreciate adequately the significance of the Meiji era and its consequences both to national life and international relations, we must glance briefly at the conditions and the spirit of the people in pre-Meiji times.

In the attitude of the Japanese towards foreigners, ancient history may be divided into two periods, that preceding the Tokugawa regency

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and that covered by that regency (1600–1867). As Occidentals we need to remember that self-sufficiency and self-determined isolation were matters exclusively of the second period. It would appear that from time immemorial Japan was entirely hospitable to foreign ways and foreign teachers. She welcomed Koreans and Chinese who brought to her new philosophical and ethical ideas, new religious creeds, and a new civilization. As in recent decades Japanese students have flocked to western lands, so in ancient times Japanese students went abroad for learning, some, if their histories may be credited, having travelled even as far as India.

How open-minded Japan was politically, intellectually and religiously in the sixteenth century may be gathered from the wide welcome given the first missionaries of Christianity. Not only Francis Xavier (1549) but scores of European priests and monks won their way into the hearts and homes of Japan. Within fifty years many hundred thousand Japanese had formally accepted the Christian faith; and not until the rulers began to suspect the monks of political designs, was the historic attitude of Japan towards foreigners changed. Nor was that change readily enforced. Edict followed edict, persecution fol-

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lowed persecution. Large rewards were offered for information as to the whereabouts of foreign monks and native Christians. Christianity was branded as "Ja-kyo," the "Evil Way." Yet in spite of Imperial Edicts and numberless "Banning Boards," in spite of the popular condemnation of Christianity, and in spite of its persistent persecution by the government, Christianity was not finally exterminated, nor the foreigner completely excluded from the country until tens of thousands of martyrs had given their lives as well as their fortunes in behalf of their foreign friends and of their own faith. Well nigh fifty years of determined and ruthless persecution were needed by the government to drive the dreaded foe from Japan,—eloquent testimony to the fidelity and the open-mindedness of multitudes of the people to the creeds and the teachers from other lands.

The Occidental often finds difficulty in appreciating the significance of Japanese exclusion of Christianity and of Occidentals. We are too apt to count it a rejection of Christianity *per se.* But this is an error. Roman Catholicism has for a thousand years held the view that the church is superior to the state and should rule it. From time immemorial Roman Catholic missions

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have insisted on the ultimate political supremacy of the Pope of Rome. Japan's suspicions of the political aspirations of Christianity were fully justified. She logically excluded all foreigners because all the foreigners she knew held to a political theory of the Christian religion.

It is safe to say that no form of Christianity which seeks to subordinate the state to the Church will ever find permanent lodgment in Japan. She builded better than she knew in excluding from her land an organized religion with political aspirations. It has proved the bane of Europe and would similarly have brought suffering to Japan.

Although Japan excluded Christianity and not only forbade the entrance of all foreigners but also made it a crime for the Japanese themselves to visit other lands, yet she was not wholly ignorant of the movements of the outside world. Three merchant ships from Holland were annually allowed entrance to Nagasaki, and her small colony of Dutchmen were permitted to live on a certain small island in the harbour. Through these Dutchmen she kept her eye on the West. Japanese writers indeed insist that they received far more from the West than we have realized. It must be granted nevertheless that the policy of ex-

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clusion was probably more complete for two hundred and fifty years than that which any other large nation has ever successfully maintained. Although the government itself might in a measure have kept in touch with the West, such persistent isolation, and for such definite reasons of suspicion and fear could not fail to develop among the people at large a profound antipathy to the foreigner as such. No caricature of his form or description of his character was too dreadful for credence. The Christian religion was popularly supposed to teach various forms of abomination and immorality. The very presence of foreigners on the sacred soil of Japan was supposed to pollute the land and to contaminate her people descended from the gods.

Yet we must guard here against exaggeration. Such was doubtless the view widely taught and obediently accepted. From abundant personal experiences among the farmers and the merchants, I am persuaded that at the present time this anti-foreign sentiment has relatively but light hold upon them. Naturally enough it has been felt and fostered chiefly by the ruling classes, who have looked at the foreigner not merely as individuals, as specimens of humanity, but as potential political pirates, and not without much

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justification, as history has shown both in the past, and especially at the present moment.

But even in the early days of renewed intercourse with the West many experiences brought to unexpected light a real kindliness of heart on the part of the common people towards the Occidental. Dr. Beltz has told of one such experience. With a comrade he was travelling in the interior among farmers who had never seen a foreigner. At one place he and his friend proposed to climb a mountain but they were told that because it was sacred no one was permitted to do this. Should they try, some calamity would surely be visited upon them by the local Deity. The guides refused to go with them. Smiling at the superstitions of the natives and trampling on their religious scruples, the enterprising foreigners pressed on. Strangely enough, after a hard tramp of several miles the comrade was suddenly taken ill, and there was nothing for Mr. Beltz to do but to return for help to the men whose council he had spurned and whose religious feelings he had ignored. Under such circumstances, what treatment was to be expected from the natives? No kind attention surely, yet as a matter of fact responding generously to the needs of the foreigner, and in spite of their own

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strong religious scruples, those natives climbed the mountain and brought down on their shoulders the afflicted white man.

Wide personal experience in the interior of Japan, where even to this day few foreigners ever go, and constant intercourse for seventeen years with merchants, farmers, and artisans, has convinced me that unreasoning, racial antipathy has to-day practically no existence among the common people; particularly is this true at a distance from the treaty ports: and if there is little of this sentiment to-day, is it not fair to argue that it could never have been deep-rooted? But I cannot say so much for official Japan nor for the common people in the ports. Here, suspicion and deep dislike have often been conspicuous. And by official Japan I do not mean merely officers who are on duty; I refer also to the social class from which they come, and particularly to the Samurai. There can hardly be a doubt that this old warrior class entertained a genuine antipathy to the foreigner as such. In view of past history, however, the marvel is that in less than two generations, so great a part of even this warrior class has been able to set antipathy aside and to treat the foreigner as a friend.

To sum up then:—no nation has on the whole

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left a more honourable record in regard to its attitude towards foreigners than has Japan. The Tokugawa period of fear, suspicion and intense antipathy on the part of the ruling class, is exceptional in the history of Japan. But the causes of that antipathy are clear and they have their justification.

The cause of Japan's long isolation was the discovery of the white peril. The aggressive spirit and grasping ambitions of the white man compelled the rulers of Japan to look not only with disfavour on their politically organized religion, but altogether to forbid their coming to Japan, as the best and easiest solution of the problems connected with the white peril.

That full justice be done to Japan's attitude towards foreign peoples, let the reader recall the mental attitude of occidental nations during the past four hundred years towards the African, the Chinaman, and the Hindoo. Do not the white peoples of Europe and of America feel that Africa, India and Asia are regions for legitimate commercial and political expansion? Do we not act on the theory that those regions and peoples are for us to exploit to our own commercial advantage?

It may be that we justify ourselves by enu-

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merating our points of superiority. We note with pride our civilization, and contrast it with their barbarity; we exult in our strength and impose on their helplessness. We boast of our high morality and enlightened religion and decry their immorality and superstitions. In these things we think we hear the call of God to go forth to conquer and to rule. If we are evolutionists we appeal to the struggle for existence and felicitate ourselves on the fact that nature has made us the fittest to survive in the struggle of nations. In subduing and destroying other nations and races are we not fulfilling our destiny and theirs?

Since the discovery of America, the dream of conquest, of empire and of unearned wealth has intoxicated the white people of the earth and made them the curse and the scourge of all the world. Japan's first reaction on coming into contact with the white man was to close her doors and decline to have anything to do with him. Who shall criticise or condemn her? If she has feared or scorned or disdained the white man, who shall say that her instinct for self-preservation has been at fault?

There is perhaps no truer sign of the essentially provincial character of the self-centred white peo-

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ple than their failure to discover or appreciate the noble and the beautiful in the great civilizations of the Orient, Hindoo, Chinese and Japanese. We have been blinded to these by the selfishness of our lives, the greed of our ambitions and the pride of our might. Surely the outstanding fact in the relations of the West to the East has been the peril to the yellow and brown races through the presence of the white man, whose assumption has been the theory that might makes right.

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II

THE AWAKENING

JAPANESE historians speak of the era of the Tokugawa regency (1600–1867) as "the Great Peace," because during that period Japan was practically free from civil war, a condition sharply in contrast to the preceding 1,000 years of almost continuous strife.

Recent Japanese writers and public speakers, however, commonly refer to the same period of 250 years as the "Long Sleep," and to the Meiji era as the "Awakening." While Japan slept, they say, western nations forged ahead, acquired knowledge, power, wealth, and world-wide possessions. When at last Admiral Perry knocked at her doors (1853), disturbed her slumbers, and showed to her ships that moved without sails and against the wind, the insignificance of her own knowledge and power was evident. She rubbed her sleepy eyes and wondered with vague fear what it might signify.

The Tokugawa Shogunate was the first to

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realize in some degree the danger and the impotence of forcible resistance to the white man. Treaties were made, but probably without intention of fully executing them. By a-hand-to mouth policy of deception and evasion they hoped by apparent concession to maintain the old policy of non-intercourse with the white man.

Fortunate was it for Japan that the United States was the first nation effectually to seek entrance to the country and that Townsend Harris, the American, was the first diplomat to negotiate treaties. It required infinite tact and patience and absolute truthfulness and tireless, unruffled insistence on his part to persuade the government to make and ratify treaties which have proved to be wise and useful to Japan. To this day, the government of the United States has been the single white nation always free from aggressive schemes and always regardful of Japanese rights and interests. This fact perhaps more than any other has led the Japanese to discriminate between white peoples and to distinguish differences, a fact of the greatest importance in the evolution of New Japan.

But although the Tokugawa Shogunate promptly recognized the dangerous situation

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of the nation vis-à-vis with the nations of Europe, and in due time ratified one treaty after another with those dreaded peoples, admitting them to live and trade in a few specified "treaty ports," the nation itself did not apparently appreciate the situation nor accept the solution. This, with other causes, led at last to the civil war and the overthrow of the Shogunate, known in Japan as "Go-ishin" (1867), and resulted in the abolishment of the dual system of government and the establishment of the Emperor upon the throne with actual as well as nominal authority.

When, however, the Emperor assumed direct control of affairs, and studied the problems of international relations, he, too, with his councillors, discovered that Japan could not by any possible means resist the white man and hold herself aloof as formerly from the western world. The white man, with power which seemed supernatural, was already established in the treaty ports with his solemnly signed and ratified treaties. Japan discovered that steam and machinery had made the world too small for any part thereof to separate itself entirely from the broadening currents of the world's life.

These considerations were also forced home

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by one or two slight encounters with armed whites (Shimonoseki and Kagoshima), in which local authorities realized the absolute military and naval impotence of Japan as against the West.

Such were the forces that led Japanese statesmen to abandon the old policy of exclusion and isolation. The Emperor and his councillors now adopted a plan which for wisdom and boldness can hardly be surpassed in the annals of history. While not for a moment failing to appreciate the aggressive character of white peoples and the resulting necessity of thwarting them in every move, Japanese leaders recognized that in international relations the final appeal can only be to superior power and that power, to be superior, must be informed and trained. Abandoning, therefore, her long course of self-sufficient isolation, Japan plunged into the stream of the world's life, determined to acquire all the knowledge of the world and with that knowledge to win her way to a place among the nations. Equipped with the implements and arts of war, she would then maintain her rights and her life if need be by the appeal to arms.

That decision was proclaimed to the nation in the famous edict known in Japan as the "Go Kajo no go Seibun," the Honourable Five

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Articled Honourable Edict, of which the following is the translation:

1. All the affairs of the state shall be guided by public opinion.
2. The principles of social and political economy shall be diligently studied by both the superior and inferior classes of our people.
3. Every one in the community shall be assisted to persevere in carrying out his will for all good purposes.
4. All old absurd usages shall be disregarded, and resort shall be had to the right way that exists between heaven and earth.
5. Wisdom and ability shall be sought after in all quarters of the world, for the purpose of firmly establishing the Imperial domination.

Especially important are the fourth and fifth articles which alone made possible that almost incredible series of transformations whereby feudal Japan became New Japan. The first and fourth articles secured the inner reorganization of the nation, both in form and in spirit, and the fifth established a totally new attitude towards the outer world. Sanctioned by the Emperor, these principles became the established method and spirit of the people.

In no wise, however, did this mean that fear of the foreigner had ceased. On the contrary it signified that he was even more greatly feared

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and that what had been a mere distant possibility had now become a dreadfully near probability.

As already indicated, the hope was that before the foreigner should become an active aggressor, Japan herself might have learned the secrets of western power and with that power might equip herself for resistance. Time has proved the wisdom of her course. Had Japan not turned face when she did, she would ere this have become the subject of some European nation. Had she not equipped herself with all the military and naval skill of the West, who would doubt the issue of the present conflict?

But the full awakening of any nation is at best a slow process. Though Japan was opened to the world by treaty in 1853, not until 1873 were the edict boards banning Christianity taken down and not until 1889 was the constitution proclaimed which provides for national representative government and guarantees religious liberty to the people.

Merchants and missionaries were in Japan in the fifties, but it was not until the seventies that their presence exerted any appreciable influence on the nation. With the removal of the banning boards and the commencement of direct teaching and preaching by the missionaries, Japan was

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fairly started on her new era of western learning. Groups of young men began to study English and in due time one after another became earnest Christians and advocates of western civilization. They preached their new doctrines with fervour, gaining the ear of a wider public than could be reached by the voice of the missionary.

Early in the seventies Japan sent embassies to America and Europe to secure a modification of previous treaties, hoping thereby to regain complete sovereignty in her own country. Those early treaties had in them what were known as the "extra territorial" clauses, which provided that all causes of litigation between Japanese and foreigners should be tried in consular courts and through this requirement, Japan had discovered that western nations considered her legal processes as uncivilized. She realized that before regaining complete sovereignty, she must adjust her people and her laws to western standards. This realization has been an incentive of no mean importance in bringing Japan rapidly to her present state of high attainment. The leaders of her people have striven to modify national life and to raise all public conduct to the best standards of the West and it must be confessed that they have done it with great success.

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Popular education was introduced early. Vast numbers of young men came to western lands, some at government expense but the majority at their own charges. They entered our best institutions. They not only studied the sciences but the arts and especially the industries. It is not necessary for me to describe in detail the course of the government in employing foreigners at heavy expenses to teach in their higher institutions, to start their military and naval reconstruction, to found factories, arsenals, dockyards, postal and telegraph systems, railroads, waterworks, and to introduce a thousand other devices common in the western world.

As experience was gained and young men returned with their new knowledge, the occidentalization of Japan became more and more pronounced. From the determined purpose of the rulers and a few progessive thinkers during the early seventies, this occidentalization became the fad and fashion of the multitudes during the eighties. It went to great extremes in many lines. Foreign apparel became the rage for a season. A silk hat, a dress coat, a pair of under-drawers and "geta" (clogs) constituted full dress to more than one ardent advocate of foreign ways. Japanese ladies also caught the fever, not only

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bringing great trouble to the lady missionaries, who were besought to teach them the mysteries of western dressmaking, but also to their own discomfiture in person and appearance. For it is safe to say that no Japanese lady ever appears quite so attractive in a foreign gown as in her own picturesque costume.

By the middle of the eighties, the foreignizing movement was in full swing. Leaders of thought were even advocating the formal adoption of Christianity; and the reasons for this were twofold. First was the thought that full benefits of western civilization would be attained more surely and quickly by adopting Christianity as the national religion. This was the argument of so eminent an educator as the late Mr. Fukuzawa. In other words the material benefits, the loaves and the fishes of what was supposed to be Christian civilization, led to the strange suggestion. The second argument was that western nations would not restore to Japan her full sovereignty unless she became Christian. Thus we see that the formal adoption of Christianity as the state religion was prompted by the desire to secure from the West full political recognition.

It is not strange that under the influence of these various motives the missionaries became

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popular. Their schools filled and overflowed. Even the churches grew by leaps and bounds. Indeed during the eighties every Christian enterprise was blessed with extraordinary success. Each year the gains in church membership were phenomenal.

In view of all this it is not strange that native preachers and missionaries alike foretold the speedy Christianizing of the nation. It was the common thought during this period both in America and in Japan that ere the close of the century that country would be so far Christian as to need no further missionary assistance.

As so often happens, however, a process that moves too fast is followed by reaction. Just that occurred in Japan. It is doubtful whether at the time any one realized the fact that such rapid occidentalization, such an attempt on the part of a whole people to drop its own past and clothe itself body and soul with the inner and outer accoutrements of a totally alien civilization, would necessarily result in radical revulsion of feeling and in reaction of conduct. Yet that result showed itself in the nineties, a more detailed study of which will be presented in the next chapter.

It is enough here to note that for about fifteen years after the opening of the country by treaty,

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Japan was more or less uncertain what to do. Should she accept foreign intercourse or reject it? The vast majority of the ruling class favoured the latter course. Those who were in immediate contact with the problem, who had to meet the hairy foreigner face to face, saw that the policy of rejection and continued isolation was impossible, nay suicidal. Their judgment finally carried the day, and the policy of foreign intercourse, once adopted by the Emperor, was promptly accepted by the people and in certain bald imitative forms reached its climax in the latter part of the eighties.

During that period of nearly forty years (1854–1890) the Japanese became fairly well acquainted with the West. Foreigners were no longer for them an immense general mass. Differences began to be recognized between the politics and the spirit of the nations. Discrimination also was now for the first time exercised. In truth the feelings of the people towards the foreigner underwent great change. From the first estimate of him as "a foreign devil," acquaintance and appreciation brought such reaction that at last for a few years he was counted almost a god. All foreigners for a time came to be rated as wealthy and wise beyond all comparison, so at least I

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have been repeatedly told by Japanese with whom I have discussed those times. Much experience has been required to attain a discriminating judgment of the foreigner, to see that after all he is mere man with faults, foibles, and virtues. Not only has discrimination of nation from nation been secured with increasing knowledge of the diversities of spirit and purpose and international policies of the different nations, but discrimination between classes and groups of individuals of the same people has also begun to arise. This, however, came more prominently into national consciousness during the nineties and will accordingly be more particularly noted in the next chapter.

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III

THE REACTION

MUCH to the surprise of both foreigner and Japanese, there swept over Japan during the early nineties a powerful reaction against things and ways foreign. Care must be taken in the interpretation of this movement to understand just what it was and what it signified. A preliminary warning should make clear that it was not such an extreme reaction as to jeopardize the real gains of twenty years of progress. There was no apparent tendency to return to the feudal order of society, nor to desire the policy of absolute international isolation.

The reaction was rather against the unreasoning rush after foreign things which had characterized the eighties,—a rush which threatened to swamp all that was good and beautiful in Old Japan and to adopt from the West even vulgar things and useless, simply because they were western.

No sympathetic student of Japanese history can fail to approve in the main the tendencies and results of this reaction as it showed itself in many

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ways. There was a new appreciation by the Japanese themselves of native art, clothing, and customs. In local politics a new feeling of antipathy to the foreigner was widely manifested. The use by missionaries of passports was restricted, their occupancy of relatively fine homes in conspicuous sites was criticised; Japanese who associated with foreigners or assisted them especially in Christian work and who accepted the legal ownership of property used by foreigners beyond the limits of the treaty ports were accused of being traitors and enemies to the country. But the manifestation of this reaction most conspicuous to the missionary was the changed interest in Christianity. As the period of reaction progressed, attendance on Christian schools not only failed to increase but actually fell off to such an extent that schools which once numbered hundreds, were reduced to scores. "Inquirers" at the churches diminished and additions to the churches for the entire period of the nineties were barely sufficient to replace defections and death.

Here was indeed a striking situation. Whereas in 1888 it was confidently believed that the nation would be Christian by the end of the century, when that time arrived, the number of ac-

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tive church members was no greater than it had been ten years before.

Now in a general way this astonishing and wholly unexpected issue may be ascribed to the reaction. But what produced the reaction? No doubt many influences were at work, of which the following were probably the more important.

First must be mentioned the large conservative element of the nation which had taken no active part in the occidentalizing movements. Instead it had watched in quiet. The liberal element by its activity had gained the attention of the nation and the world and it was thought that the entire people had turned to western ways. When, however, the more conservative elements saw the vulgar, unesthetic extremes to which the movement was tending, they criticised and opposed the extremists under the motto, "Kokuzui Hozon Shugi" (the Principle of Preserving the Marrow of the Country); they proclaimed the value and importance of holding fast what was good in their own past. They studied their national civilization with keener and more discriminating attention, finding much in customs, clothing, art and spirit that appealed to them with new force, contrasting it all as they did with western intro-

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ductions. This principle of preservation they proclaimed aloud in the name of patriotism, branding those who believed otherwise as unpatriotic and base imitators of vulgar aliens. The trumpet blast for loyalty necessarily drew the attention of the nation and checked the blind rush. The conservatives now took the lead in shaping public opinion and held it for several years. During this period reaction was felt in government, in politics, in education and in religion; also in art, in manners and in clothing.

But there were other important contributing causes for this reaction.

In 1887 there came to Japan various "liberal" Lutheran missionaries from Germany and Unitarian missionaries from America. The latter, especially, proclaimed themselves as having come to confer with Japanese co-religionists rather than to propagate a new faith. Both groups of missionaries announced at once their dissent from so-called orthodox Christianity. They advocated what has been termed the higher criticism of the Bible. Having no acquaintance with the language, they employed as assistants, young men educated by orthodox missionaries. These translated for them articles and books expounding higher critical theories and liberal theology and

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the translations were soon distributed to all the native pastors and evangelists in the land.

The results can be easily imagined. Older missionaries had attacked the evils of polytheistic and idolatrous native religions and had preached monotheism. They had presented the usual views then current in England and America as to the Bible, its authorship, authority and inspiration. As a rule, few of the missionaries who went to Japan, even as late as 1885, had any particular knowledge of or belief in the so-called higher criticism. They represented the general theological position of the clergy of that era in America and England. It was inevitable, therefore, that in their Christian teaching, the critical views should have found no place. In point of fact, the duty of the missionaries was not to train theologians and scholars, but to raise up Christians and Christian workers; and to this work they gave themselves heart and soul.

But it was natural and inevitable that the inquiring Japanese Christian student should wish to know all that the West had to teach about the Bible and the Christian religion. It was most natural, therefore, that the recently arrived liberal missionaries should gain listeners at once and it was the most natural thing in the world

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that young men who had been radical enough to break with their own religious past and to brave persecution for the sake of Christianity, as many in Japan had done, should now flock to these new teachers. Moreover, it was not strange that they should not only listen, but that they should also become followers when they discovered that many of the views advanced were held by the most highly educated preachers and theological instructors in Germany, England, and America.

It was an inevitable consequence of this liberalistic movement among the Christians and workers in Japan, begun at the end of the eighties and culminating during the latter part of the nineties, that there should at this time have been a marked chilling of evangelistic fervour and endeavour. Doubts and questions filled the minds of the workers. Before they could believe as of old they must know the meanings and the bearings of the new thought. This required time, attention, and strength. Thus an element of weakness was sown within the church itself. Its aggressive power, resting on its confidence in the Bible, the church, and the missionary, had been shaken.

I may say in passing that some few pastors

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went over to the Unitarian and German missions. A few others swung entirely out of the ranks of Christian workers. A few Christians gave up all religious belief. But the great majority of the workers held fast to the essentials of the Christian faith, and, having passed through their period of questionings and doubts, they are to-day doing aggressive Christian work. This does not mean that they have necessarily returned to their former theological positions, but it does mean that they have learned to distinguish between theology and religion. They have learned that they can be Christians, in vital relations with God and man, and still leave unsettled various questions of science and biblical history.

Another factor of great importance to the conservative reaction was the return to Japan, in the latter part of the eighties and early nineties, of that large number of Japanese who had previously gone abroad for study. They brought back reports not only of that which they had studied but also of that which they had seen and experienced, and their testimony in regard to the religious and moral conditions of Christendom told throughout Japan in papers and magazines astonished those who had supposed that Christian lands bordered on perfection.

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They told of the hideous forms of vice and licentiousness rampant in our largest cities, New York, Chicago, London, Paris, and Berlin. And no one may deny that the shameless immoralities to be found in these cities surpass anything seen in Japan. It was not only whispered but often publicly stated that Christianity is a failure in the West. Why adopt it for Japan, it was argued. Judging by results, are not Buddhism and Confucianism better than Christianity? "Look," said such critics, "at the shameless sights and crimes of Christian lands. See those unpunished murderers; watch those white Christians lynching their victims or burning them at the stake in vengeful fury. How about the illegitimate births in Paris and Berlin and the baby farms whose sole purpose is to exterminate superfluous offspring. If Christianity cannot cope with the evils of Christendom, it is not worth importing to Japan."

What wonder that Japan was filled with astonishment? For nearly two decades she had counted the West her model. Christianity had been preached as the perfect religion in securing for its people the highest blessings of civilization. "If these reports are true, then surely," said they, "we have no need to become Chris-

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tian. We are as well off with our own religions."

This reactionary factor came from Christendom itself and had great influence in checking the stream of thoughtful inquirers. Many intelligent people influenced by the attitude of Japan's leading men had come to look with favour on Christian propagandism and they were themselves ready to give the Christian preacher and the missionary a frank and friendly hearing should opportunity offer. But these damaging reports as to real conditions coming with convincing force and increasing frequency turned such men aside and gradually stopped the stream of those who were turning towards Christianity.

The testimony of students returning from the West went even further. "Not only is Christianity a practical failure in Christendom," they added, "but it is rejected by the more highly educated, in their own lands. New views of science in regard to the age of the world, the origin of species and particularly the evolution of man from an animal ancestry have made continued belief in the Bible impossible. All men educated in modern science accept biological evolution and reject Christianity."

The reader whose memory reaches back to the

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seventies and the early eighties will remember that those were the days of fierce discussion between the advocates and opponents of the then newly propounded theories of Darwin. Many a worthy theologian maintained that the Bible account of creation proved evolution impossible. With equal dogmatism did many a scientist attack the Bible and Christianity as in conflict with evolution. The tendency among the students in our colleges and universities of that time was certainly to accept evolution even at the cost of religion. And it was the opinion of many contemporary writers that a death-blow had been dealt to Christianity by the theory of evolution. It is therefore by no means surprising that students returning to Japan should have reported as they did. Furthermore, that report was in accord with the utterances of English and German professors in the Imperial University at Tokyo, for these men taught thoroughgoing, materialistic evolution.

Still further, as time went on, it become clear that few of the missionaries accepted the new evolutionary views. They agreed with the professors at the University and in the higher schools of learning throughout the country that evolution and Genesis are irreconcilable, so that an evolu-

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tionist cannot be a Christian and a Christian cannot be an evolutionist. In proportion, therefore, as modern scientific thought gained ground among Japan's educated men did it become impossible for them to accept Christianity. This reactionary factor did not have such wide-spread influence among the people at large as among the student class, but it strongly effected the intellectual leaders of the nation, a matter of special significance in the Orient. If it were true that evolution and Christianity are mutually exclusive, and that all who give careful study to zoology must necessarily give up Christianity, there can be no question but that Christianity would become the religion of the uneducated. Such was the belief promulgated in Japan. What wonder then that those gifted, intellectual leaders of Japanese thought who were well headed towards Christianity should have received a violent shock? "If Christianity is being rejected in Christendom by the educated, because intellectually inconsistent with the most approved science, surely we do not wish it to become the religion of Japan. We must have science. Religion, we now see, is all superstition, Christianity no less than Buddhism and Shintoism." Thus they argued and not without force.

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Yet another factor checking the rush into the Christian Church was the demand of Christian ethics. Without detailed knowledge of Christianity many eminent men had been advocating its wide adoption. But when they came into close contact with it, and learned its specific requirements, many drew back. When they discovered that to be a Christian and to become a member of the church meant the giving up of concubinage; abstinence from intoxicants, from carousals at tea-houses and brothels, that it involved truth telling and purity in personal life with active participation in the support and propagation of the new faith, many hesitated before taking the radical step. They had supposed that Christianity like their own religion was carried on by its missionaries and pastors, leaving the layman free to do pretty much as he liked. That a religious brotherhood should keep strict watch over the moral conduct of its members was a new idea to those who had so widely advocated the national adoption of Christianity. As already stated, the motive for such advocacy was the national and political benefits which they supposed it would bring. When however they came into practical contact with the Christian organization, many found themselves unwilling

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to modify their lives, or submit to what seemed to them to be the rigid and unnatural restraints of Christian ethics. By the end of the eighties the leaders had discovered this ethical demand of Christianity, and with the discovery, its wide advocacy by those wholly outside the Christian ranks ceased. This then was another powerful factor checking the rapid numerical growth of the church. The number of Christian advocates fell from hundreds, even thousands, to a few scores, and the sudden stoppage of such a chorus of advocacy naturally had its effect in checking the stream of young men and women which had been pouring into the Christian schools and churches.

Among the factors checking the growth of Christianity in Japan was one rather difficult for occidental Christians to appreciate. I refer to the metaphysics and dogma usually considered essential elements of Christianity. Such a highly speculative dogma as the doctrine of the Trinity gave pause to thoughtful Japanese. The doctrines of election, the atonement, the deity of Christ, verbal inspiration of the Bible, the nature of the future life, many indeed of the distinctively theological doctrines of historic and also of current Christianity gave serious-minded

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students much difficulty both in understanding and in accepting. Many a man who had been profoundly attracted by the personality of Jesus and by the strong ethical emphasis of Christianity was later repelled as he came to know more definitely the history of the church with its wars over creeds and its persecution of those holding different religious opinions, and particularly so as he came to examine the history and the meaning of specifically theological doctrines. Many earnest students did not feel themselves able to accept much that they found in the historic creeds of Christendom. Occidental metaphysics with Greek, Latin and Teutonic theology was alien to their modes of thought. We of the West who have been trained from youth in these matters can little appreciate the problems and difficulties encountered by them. The importance of this factor lay not so much in the number of those who directly felt these difficulties as in the fact that they who would naturally have become leaders in the Christian movement were impelled to become its critics. Christian propaganda in Japan lost many an able advocate because of its occidental metaphysics and scholastic theology.

A factor in the situation that has received scant attention from western thinkers is the

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diplomatic relations of Japan with western lands. The Japanese for twenty years had been exceedingly restive under the galling extra-territorial clauses of the treaties. Beginning in the early seventies, the authorities set themselves in earnest to qualify for a recognition by the West as a civilized people fully competent to administer impartial justice. For over fifteen years missionaries had been given an absolutely free hand. Privileges of travel and residence in all parts of the land had been allowed to them as to none others. The people had been not only permitted but almost urged to study Christianity and to accept it. Even the formal adoption of Christianity as the State Religion had been seriously discussed by responsible thinkers. As a result, the prospects of Christianity were so bright by the close of the eighties that all students of current matters believed Japan would be a Christian nation ere the close of the century. Having in the course of a few years affected such radical transformation in her governmental methods and ruling ideas, Japan not unnaturally felt that she should now receive recognition of equality from western governments. Western writers had praised her reforms and her progress without stint. Missionaries had nothing but

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good to say of her people and administration and were ready to accept abolition of the extra-territorial clauses. When therefore the Japanese foreign office began to agitate afresh for treaty revision, and discovered that in spite of all she had done western nations still doubted her ability and still made demands which would have been an insult if made of each other, it is not strange that leading Japanese began to question the motives of those nations. It is not strange that they became incensed and indignant.

A single illustration will indicate the temper of the times. Count Okuma, then minister for Foreign Affairs, negotiated revised treaties whereby the extra-territorial clauses were removed, and in place of the Consular Courts, provision was made that foreign judges should for a number of years sit with Japanese judges in every case involving a foreigner. When this proposed arrangement became known (1889), the nation was filled with indignation. An attempt to assassinate the minister was made by which however he lost only his leg. But in view of the national temper, the government withdrew the proposed treaty and let the matter drop. It was evident that the nation would accept nothing

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short of full authority in her own land and this the West was not willing to grant.

Again in 1892 Japan made effort to secure recognition on a basis of equality. Baron Kaneko has told of the chagrin he felt over the rebuffs received at the conference of diplomats in Geneva. He could not understand why the West declined to grant what Japan so earnestly asked. It had been a mystery for some time and it now became a "heart-rending mystery," but was suddenly solved by the remark of a well-known European publicist to the effect that complete Japanese sovereignty was feared by the West as a possible loss to its own interests in Asia. In a word, Japan discovered that European diplomacy was not based on right, but on private interests and especially on might. Japan had expected to secure her rights from Europe by qualifying for them. She discovered in the early nineties that Europe had no interest in her rights and would not respect them until forced to do so by Japan's might.

This then was another factor working powerfully against the pro-western rush of Japanese feeling. It helped to call a halt and to bring to the front that outburst of anti-foreign sentiment which characterized the early nineties. All

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foreigners were suspected and hated. A renewed sense of the reality of the white peril arose, a feeling that had been slowly passing away. It led not only to cessation of interest in Christianity but also to a marked check in the study of foreign languages. Even the missionaries were hated and suspected as they had not been for five years. It led to political action. A law was proposed by one of the political parties requiring confiscation of all property held in the name of Japanese for mission work and for the homes of missionaries. If passed, this would have involved all property outside of the six treaty ports, many hundreds of thousands of dollars having been used for such purposes in all parts of the land and with full government knowledge.

In regard to the refusal of western diplomacy to grant Japan's repeated request for revision of treaties on a basis of equality, a word more seems desirable. It is doubtless true that selfish interests did largely control the counsels of Christendom in that matter, but it must be remembered that the civil codes of Japan were then only in process of compilation. They were not adopted as the laws of the land until 1898. Baron Kaneko, therefore, hardly does justice to

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European diplomats in believing so readily what was said by that "well-known publicist" whom he refrains from naming. It must not be forgotten that not until 1876 was torture abolished in Japan and that the entire legal procedure of the country was in process of reconstruction at the very time when they asked for full juridical control of aliens in their ports. They wished full sovereignty, but were not willing to grant free travel or residence or rights of trade and of property ownership throughout their land to members of alien races, rights which they themselves were allowed in foreign lands. They still cherished their early plans of confining foreigners in general to treaty ports, allowing only certain specified individuals to receive special passports from the home office to go into the interior for a few stated reasons, with a definite route of travel and for strictly limited periods of time.

These considerations are sufficient to show that western diplomats had some rational and reasonable ground for their hesitancy in yielding to Japanese requests. But it was doubtless exceedingly difficult for the Japanese themselves to appreciate these western views. They had done so much in the line of westernization that it naturally seemed to them as if mere obstinate sel-

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fishness and utter disregard of the rights of Japan characterized the conduct of the West. Japan's position was not unnatural, neither was her paroxysm of anti-foreign feeling surprising; and it is a tribute to the wisdom of her leaders that this feeling did not find expression in more vigorous anti-foreign demonstrations.

The reaction described in this chapter did not coincide exactly with that of the ninth decade. Its first mutterings began to be heard in the later eighties, its maximum intensity was reached in the early nineties and it gradually subsided, with several set-backs, only towards the close of the decade. The causes of the rise of renewed cordiality towards the West will be considered in the next chapter. Here we must note several events which served to check the return of those feelings, events which have left a permanent influence on Japan's attitude towards the white race.

First and foremost was the material injury, lessened prestige in the Orient, and national insult suffered at the hands of Russia, Germany and France when they virtually compelled Japan at the close of the China-Japanese war, in 1894-5, to return to China the Liastung Peninsula and Port Arthur. Events have proved that the reason

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assigned by those powers, "The peace of the Far East," was by no means the motive inspiring their demand. That motive was rather their common desire to deprive Japan of her natural position of leadership in those regions, a leadership which they felt to be inimical to their own plans of expansion. So keenly did Japan feel the affront, that the government was compelled to muzzle the native press, forbidding all reference to that disgraceful and nationally calamitous affair. It is said that one hundred officers and men of her victorious army committed suicide according to the old time Warrior's Code, preferring death to ignoble life under irreparable insult.

The sting of this insult offered by Russia, Germany and France was still further felt by the Japanese when events brought to light the real purpose of those aggressive white nations. They had required Japan to return Port Arthur to China. Yet within three years China had passed it over to Russia, while Germany had seized Kiaochao, thus completely eliminating Japan's influence in China and weakening it in Korea. Events thus gave the complete lie to the supposably altruistic and humane request of those European nations which had dreamed dreams of Oriental Empire, when "in the interests of the

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peace of the Far East," they had asked Japan "to return Port Arthur to China."

After the close of the China-Japanese war and particularly after the Boxer troubles, French and German but especially Russian diplomacy and intrigues with China and Korea, served as a constant source of indignation to the Japanese. Fortunately, Japan has learned to distinguish between nations, so that the sins of Russia and Germany and France are not now visited in Japanese thought upon the entire white race.

In this connection mention should be made of the shallow and often false reports and criticisms made by "globe trotters" and professional newspaper reporters concerning the deeds and misdeeds of Japan. Particularly offensive were certain newspaper criticisms of the China-Japanese war. In later years Japan has become less sensitive to unjust criticism having learned that after all the critic is to be pitied rather than the criticised.

The main factors, then, combining to create the reactionary movement of the nineties were:

1. The preservation of all good, even though ancient, customs of the country, with a revulsion against much that had come from the West.
2. The weakening of the native churches through doubts and questions raised by

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so-called higher criticisms and liberal theology.

3. Reports from the West as to the failure of Christianity to conquer the evils of Christendom.
4. The reported rejection of Christianity by the more highly educated classes of the West.
5. The high ethical demand of Christianity in the daily life of professed Christians.
6. Metaphysical and theological difficulties.
7. The unwillingness of western diplomats to grant Japan's request for treaty revision.
8. The treacherous schemes of Russia, Germany, and France in the Far East with their corresponding treatment of Japan.
9. And finally, unjust criticism by incompetent observers.

Reviewing these factors of the reactionary movement, what wonder that the great popularity of western things and ways and religion, the predominant characteristic of the eighties—met a serious check during the nineties?

In view of the facts, the wonder is not only that the churches and their work stood the strain as well as they did, but that the newly constructed westernized political structure did not go entirely to pieces. The surprise is not that there was a check in Christian work, but that there was so little defection, that the Christian cause did not suffer a Waterloo, that occidental modes of thought, of education, of government, and of

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jurisprudence, which had come in so precipitately were not largely rejected under the impulse of this renewed antipathy to the white man.

There are those who view the period of the reaction as one of great disaster to the kingdom of God in Japan. Especially do they consider the entrance of the Unitarian and German missions, with their higher criticism and liberal theology, as the work of the evil one. Yet this view misses the vision of God's hand and His providence in it all. It was as necessary to the healthy development of the Japanese churches and their Christian life that they should know the problems and difficulties of faith and come to their religious life and build up their religious experience and their creeds in the light of the best scholarship of the thinking world, as it is that we ourselves should be thus developed. Any religious body content with past knowledge and shutting out new light is doomed. If we wish robust Christianity in Japan we must treat Japanese Christians as men and not as babes. We must not be afraid to let them know of the progress of thought, for surely they will be guided and strengthened as we have been.

Contrary to the notion that the period of the nineties was a calamity to the Church and the

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nation, and a hindrance to the growth of the kingdom of God in Japan, my thought is that but for this check in its Christian work, the churches would have been swamped by the attenuated Christianity of people who brought with them into the organization many of their heathen superstitions and customs. Had the growth gone on unhindered for a score of years, increasing to a membership of two or three millions, Christians in England and America would doubtless have rejoiced over a nation born in a day, but the church itself would have been weakened through incorporated heathenism. It would have shared the fate of the Roman Catholic Church when Constantine the Great accepted Christianity and brought unconverted millions into formal connection with the Christian Church.

Suppose for a moment that it had been possible to hold the Japanese in ignorance of the real conditions of life and belief in the West for twenty or thirty years longer and that, as a consequence, the Christian work had gone on as was prophesied in the eighties. What would have resulted when enlightenment did arrive? There would have been no escape from such a crash to Christian faith and life in Japan as would have appalled the world.

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Japan, yes, and the world too, needs primarily, not an immense Christian organization, but a true one, a church of men and women who have the vision of Christ and who propose to carry His spirit into the market, the school, and the home. This vital religion Japan was in danger of missing by her blind utilitarian rush into Christianity in the eighties and this she has been securing during the time of her sifting in the nineties. While the converts of the eighties very largely fell away during the nineties, those who had come into the churches during the earlier time of storm and stress of the seventies as a rule retained their hold when difficulties again arose. They have been sifted and found not wanting. They are not wholly ignorant of the modern intellectual problems, higher critical, and others, but they came into the Christian life through an experience of vital religion, which has been deepened by trial and temptation. With true Christians in every land they can say, "None of these things move me. I know whom I have believed." This more vital religious experience would hardly have been possible had the conditions of popularity of the eighties long continued.

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IV

THE PERIOD OF DISCRIMINATION

JAPAN'S second anti-foreign fever was relatively of short duration, and the causes which brought it to an end are as interesting and instructive as those which caused it.

The chief characteristic of this period is discrimination exercised in all directions. She decides that things are neither good nor bad. Nothing is bad merely because it is foreign, neither is it for that reason good. Politics, customs, religion, ethics, even the foreign nations themselves are now studied with discrimination. The result is an attitude neither of hasty favour and adoption, nor of unreasoning fear and rejection. This shows the advance of Japan from youth to maturity. The present chapter draws attention to the more important factors which have led to this discriminating temper of mind.

In the article already cited, Baron Kaneko plainly intimates that Japan's war with China was waged primarily from a desire to show western governments her military power. This purpose may

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have been in the minds of certain Japanese, but it seems entirely improbable that the Emperor and his immediate councillors were in reality moved by any such consideration. In any case, however, it is certain that Japan's brilliant victories commanded the recognition not previously accorded her by western nations. They discovered in her a power which compelled a new rating of Japan among the nations. She soon seized by the horns the knotty problem of treaty revision. Instead, however, of dealing as heretofore with the nations *en masse*, she negotiated with each one separately. The United States had signified her readiness for this move but circumstances made it wise to deal first with England. In due season (1896) the public was notified that Japan had carried her point. She had secured a treaty granting complete autonomy; national sovereignty had been regained without humiliating concessions.

Similar treaties were now negotiated with each of the nations separately, and a day was set (1898) when the hateful extra-territorial treaties should be abolished. The victories of the China-Japanese war gave the entire people a sense of power and dignity. They became less restive under criticism, for they now realized their ability

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to stand side by side with the white races. The white peril was becoming less perilous to them.

In the meantime civil codes were pushed to completion and authorized by Imperial and parliamentary sanctions. The study of these codes helped to give foreigners confidence in the purpose and the power of the government to treat the alien justly. Expressions of good-will by foreigners received response from the Japanese. When therefore the day arrived for the abrogation of the old and for the promulgation of new treaties, all were anxious that nothing should mar the mutual satisfaction of the contracting parties. Singularly enough, however, on the day following the enforcement of the treaties a white man committed a murder. This, therefore, was the first case in which a Japanese judge was to try a foreigner, a portentous event. But so well was the case handled that, from first to last, the Japanese judiciary inspired confidence among the foreign population.

With the abolition of old treaties and enforcement of the new, distinctively anti-foreign feeling began to pass away. This was natural since the new treaties allowed free travel to foreigners with rights of trade, of residence, and on the fulfillment of certain legal conditions of land owner-

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ship. For years my home has been in the interior of Japan and I can testify to the steadily changing sentiment; so complete has been this change that during the past five years I have often been the recipient of expressions of good will from those who have known nothing more of me than that I am an American citizen. From the earliest renewal of foreign intercourse Japanese sentiment towards the United States has been peculiarly pleasant. Nevertheless during the anti-foreign fever of the early nineties all western nations were regarded as a unit. If distinctions were made, they were in favour of the United States; jealous patriots, however, were inclined to make no distinction whatever.

Politically, then, blind unreasoning and undiscriminating anti-foreign feeling was practically ended by the close of the century. This did not, however, signify a return to the pro-foreign fever of the eighties. During a decade of more or less ill will towards western peoples, official Japan had nevertheless continued her national reconstruction on western models. Her educational system had made prodigious progress in extent, equipment and efficiency. Her national representative government had been rapidly making history while with the payments of the Chinese

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indemnity, Japan had entered the world-race for military and naval supremacy. Over-sea commerce had been stimulated by government bounties. Banks, factories and railroads had been organized and pushed with energy and of necessity their various enterprises had adopted occidental methods, though maintaining at the same time a spirit of more or less ill will towards the West with a settled determination to preserve the "marrow of the country."

Better treatment by the West combined with continued acquaintance, commerical, educational, and political, also with the testimony of returning students led to the discovery that in every land there are differences in the conduct of individuals. At the same time the varied experiences led to ever clearer discrimination between different nations with their different policies, between different classes of people within each nation and between religious sects and their methods.

This led by degrees to a revision of that anti-foreign feeling which had been so largely undiscriminating. Unjust to the alien, it was reckoned now as harmful to those who held it, preventing acquisition of useful methods and ideas.

The rise of this new feeling of cordiality did

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not, however, show any tendency to repeat the blind rush for western imitation which had so strikingly characterized the eighties. In those wondrous years every fad, fancy, fashion and folly of Christendom met its welcome. Then came the reaction; and now, with the revival of cordiality, Japan found herself more mature, better balanced, and less liable to those earlier extremes of conduct which had amused foreign spectators and disgusted conservative patriots. The new period is accordingly less picturesque than the former. But for that reason it is of deeper interest to him whose eyes are on the vital problems which confront Japan.

In the Boxer troubles of China, Japan found opportunity for the exercise of her military ability, her diplomatic skill and her courtesy. Western recognition of these qualities followed at once, and the expression of this approval likewise contributed to Japan's changed attitude towards the West. She was at last able, moreover, to measure directly her military equipment and the discipline of her forces by the standards of western powers, and in this measuring she discovered her own equality, and realized that in these directions she had little more to learn from others. She also realized that, in some respects

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she had already outstripped her western instructors. This discovery made known at once throughout the Empire, served to quiet national unrest concerning the long-dreaded white peril. Japan was sure that in case of conflict with the white man, she had at least an even chance. This conviction made it the more easy for her to ignore captious criticism and the more ready to recognize western excellence.

With the advance of Russian aggression in Manchuria there was danger that Japan would again be thrown into anti-foreign agitation, but announcement of the Anglo-Japanese Agreement in 1902 dispelled that danger and evoked the enthusiasm of the people. At last they were recognized as equals by a leading nation of the world. This fact has done more than can easily be stated to break down in Japan all remaining antipathy to the white race as such. It has materially assisted international discrimination. It has persuaded the nation that the solidarity of the white peoples has been broken, and that, therefore, for themselves at least, the white peril is a thing of the past. The importance to Japan of the Anglo-Japanese agreement does not lie primarily in its great political value to the nation during the present struggle with Russia, great

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though that is; but rather in the genuine spirit of good-will for the white race which has been aroused, a spirit thus rendering practically out of the question for the future any yellow peril led by Japan. Those who dread the peril, and harp upon it, little appreciate Japan's new attitude towards America and England. Though for special reasons the United States has not as yet entered into military and naval alliance with Japan, still her desires for that land are fully recognized and highly appreciated by the people, to the mutual advantage of both countries.

Parallel with the subsidence of political anti-foreign sentiment was a like subsidence of anti-Christian feeling. The nation has manifestly entered on a period of reviving interest in the Christian religion. Many influences have necessarily contributed to the new attitude. International relations have not been the least of these. Nevertheless, within the nation itself, one of the most potent causes leading to the rising tendency towards Christianity has been the ethical failure of popular education. Universal education has been pushed to a relatively high degree of success; and although ethics have been systematically taught in the schools, religious instruction has, of course, been excluded.

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Even in the eighties it was discovered that the result of such education was to destroy belief in national gods and to supply no substitute as the ground for moral authority. This was counted a calamity, and in 1890 an Imperial Edict on Education was promulgated with the hope that the need might be met. The purpose of this edict was to inspire a spirit of awe and reverence in connection with moral instruction. It has no doubt served somewhat in this respect but not enough to save the responsible leaders and educators of the country from keenest disappointment. From the middle nineties and onward, they have increasingly realized that occidental scientific education destroys old beliefs and with them the old ethical foundations providing no substitute. To-day on every side one may hear lament over the degeneration of young men, a sad result of modern education. Indeed, few doubt that the older Bushido training produced a virility and manhood unattainable by the present occidentalized education.

In 1902 the principal of an important middle school, a graduate of the Imperial University and a man who has made ethics his specialty, told me that it is easy enough to teach the history of ethics, also ethics as a system of thought, but

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that it is impossible to teach ethics that shall influence lives, without grounding morality in religion. This, however, the laws forbid. How, indeed, can a teacher by mere instruction, influence his pupils to be truthful, pure, and temperate, while he himself is known to be untruthful, impure, and intemperate? Every government school in the land provides lights and recepticles for tobacco ashes at the private desk of every teacher, while at the same time, the law forbids all smoking by pupils, a law carefully taught by these same smoking teachers. My friend, the teacher of ethics, added that occidental science and education have largely destroyed belief in Oriental religions. He also insisted that the only recourse now is to teach occidental religion to balance occidental education and science. Thus he argued, though not himself a Christian.

A further factor in the situation is the more discriminating testimony of Japanese students and visitors to the West regarding the moral and religious conditions of these lands. To many such it has become increasingly clear that the only forces in Christendom which successfully contend against social, industrial and other evils, spring from the Christian religion. These

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students and travellers report that the social, industrial, intellectual, and racial conditions of Christendom are far more complex and proportionately more difficult than those in Japan: but that while there may be greater evils in Christendom than in Japan there is also a higher standard of public and private morality. The good is better and more aggressive, even as the bad is worse and more blatant. Were it not for Christianity they say Christendom would soon perish through its own corruption.

Such discriminating testimony has led to a higher estimate of the intrinsic worth and nature of Christianity than was held in the early nineties. The fate of certain personally and politically corrupt politicians who have been rejected by their constituencies in America and England has been to Japan a revelation of Christian standards, and of the methods of their enforcement in the West. Were the same standards of morality enforced in Japan as in America and England, various of Japan's most eminent statesmen, politicians and educators would long since have been retired. Furthermore, additional investigation is showing that the reported rejection of Christianity by educated men in the West is an exaggeration; that

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genuine Christianity instead of waning seems rather to be gaining in force; that materialism is practically overthrown in our universities and colleges; that the theory of evolution has, indeed, become widely accepted but that this has not necessitated the rejection of Christianity, but has merely resulted in the revision of certain traditional beliefs. It is increasingly evident to these investigators that never before were the Christian spirit and the Christian life so strongly entrenched among instructors and pupils in American and English schools and colleges. They see that even in Germany the extreme rationalistic movement leading into blank materialism has spent its force and that Christianity in a purified form freed from many of the accretions of centuries of ignorance is gaining a new hold on the intellect and heart of the best life of the West. "It is, therefore, worth our while," they conclude, "to examine Christianity and see if it may not have value for Japan." Such is the tendency of thought and argument finding favour to-day in many quarters of the country.

Similarly in regard to the so-called higher criticism. For a time discussions and doubts regarding the history, authorship, and authority of the Bible occupied the attention of the native

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ministers, largely paralyzing their efforts. Of late, however, little is heard on these topics. They are felt to be not vital. Preaching has become positive and aggressive. Truth and righteousness, social reform and personal religion, have become the leading themes of sermons and lectures. This positive preaching attracts and holds attention, drawing adherents into the churches and giving thoughtful men further food for thought.

During the anti-foreign era although the church barely held its own numerically, and although many members became lukewarm, while others gave up faith in Christ and abandoned the Christian life altogether, the ethical standards of the church as a whole were not materially lowered. Business integrity and family morality were maintained. Benevolence was widely practiced. Orphan asylums multiplied and were imitated by the Buddhists. Leper hospitals, reform homes, temperance societies and many kindred institutions proved to observant Japanese that in the Christian community was to be found an ethical vitality which did not exist elsewhere.

In 1898 I formed the acquaintance of a Buddhist priest who was also a professor in the Buddhist school (University it was called) on

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Mount Hiyei. In talking freely to each other on matters religious, he stated his conviction that while Christian philosophy is weak, Christian ethics are superior in substance and in practice to those of Buddhism. A physician in the bigoted Buddhist town of Marugame made the same assertion. He professed to be an earnest Buddhist himself but added, "I sent my daughter to Tokyo to study and live in a Christian family so that she might become a Christian." I have known this physician for seven years and he still holds this original position. An intimate friend of mine, another physician, in Matsuyama took pains to tell me on the occasion of his first call (in 1899) which, by the way, lasted from 7 P. M. until 1 A. M.—that while he himself was a Buddhist he recognized the fact that Buddhism was virtually dead in Japan; Christian morality had won the day; Japan was sure to become Christian at no distant time. Shortly before leaving Matsuyama, in August, 1904, the young men of our University Extension Society held a farewell reception for me. Although somewhat out of place, my physician friend was present and asked permission to speak. In substance he repeated what he had said to me five years before. Addressing the young men, he said, "I am too

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old to change, but you should improve every opportunity to study Christianity and to accept it; for Japan must become a Christian land."

It is a fact that even now the ethical standards of life proclaimed and lived by Christians are so widely known by the community at large that more is expected of a man who confesses himself Christian, than from one who does not do so. No Christian, for example, is supposed to drink, to frequent tea-houses or brothels, or to patronize geisha (dancing or singing girls). Should a young man do these things, the community would not suspect him of being a Christian. Should it become known that he who did these things had been a Christian, he would be popularly esteemed a backslider and rated lower than the man who had never professed Christianity, though such a one might lead the same life. Two years ago a bank in Osaka advertised for six clerks specifying certain qualifications. Among these was one to the effect that applicants must be Christian. This may seem strange, but the reason is clear. Of all the young men in Japan, only Christians make it an avowed principle to be absolutely temperate and pure. Wine and women have always been in Japan as in other lands the young man's sorest

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temptations. He who is, on religious principle, averse to both forms of self-indulgence is, as a matter of course, the more trustworthy and the better fitted for important financial responsibility. Illustrations of the relatively high ethical standards set by the Christian community might be multiplied indefinitely. Let the foregoing suffice.

During that period of storm and stress throughout the nineties, when Christian work in Japan was reported to the West as a failure, the actual life of Christians, both foreign and native, was proving to thoughtful Japanese that Christianity has a vitality and an ethical power greatly needed by the nation. Contrasted sharply with Christian living was the corrupt life of the leaders of Buddhism. Report after report swept the land during that period—the nineties—describing the colossal financial corruption connected with the building of the Higashi Hongwanji in Kyoto, a head temple—cathedral—of Buddhism. Minute descriptions were given of degraded and sometimes disgusting superstitions made use of by Buddhist priests in raising funds for the liquidation of the debts. Chief priests were openly charged with maintaining numberless concubines and with living in wanton luxury and lust. Never having examined these stories, I do not

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here assert their truth. But I know that they were widely reported and generally believed.

Still further, the almost open bribery of legislators became universally known and widely discussed. One bribe-taker went so far as to proclaim in the Diet that he had been bribed and to demand his payment. The nation looked on with an apparent helplessness that was astonishing. In such ways have the ethical failure of non-Christian faiths and the relatively high ethical success of the Christian community become increasingly clear to the responsible leaders of Japanese life.

In the fall of 1902 there was discovered a widely practiced scheme of bribery in connection with text-books used in public schools. The government attacked the problem with vigour and before the matter was ended, over a hundred eminent men, principals, professors, governors, vice-governors, and others in similar positions of trust, were convicted and imprisoned. It was noted that among this number not one was a Christian. Thoughtful men were thus gradually brought to realize the serious gravity of the situation. They looked for the source of this moral weakness and asked how it was to be met.

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The growing immorality of students and teachers has become a source of increasing anxiety to thoughtful men. "Sowing wild oats" is the common thing to do. The principal of a large normal school said, not long ago, that he "not only patronized houses of ill-fame himself, but that he advised all his teachers to do so, and that he even gave them tickets, so that at the end of each month all the bills would be sent to him for payment and deducted from their salaries." Obscene story-tellers, dancing girls, low theatres, and houses where vice is cheap and "safe" abound in every large city. Such facts as these have also served to set thoughtful men to pondering the moral situation.

Still further drawing attention towards Christianity was the Union Forward Evangelistic Movement. This was pushed with vigour by churches and missionaries throughout the land. It was the initial undertaking of the twentieth century. Not only were special evangelistic meetings held in churches and theatres, but Christians walked through the streets in processions with lanterns, banners and flags. They sang and preached on street corners and urged the people to come and hear the Good News. The widely extended, long continued and united

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activity of a religious body previously supposed to consist of unrelated and more or less antagonistic sects, of a body already by many counted moribund, was a notable phenomenon. This Taikyo Dendo (Great Teaching Propagation Movement), as it was called, arrested the attention of multitudes and helped to turn them afresh towards Christianity.

As an aid to the movement was the coming to Japan of such men as Mr. John R. Mott and Drs. Torry, Pentacost and Hall. While each visitor produced his own immediate impression and while any immediate effect may be easily exaggerated, still the whole served to lead Japan's thinking men to more favourable thoughts of Christianity, and to the recognition of it as an active, vital, religious force.

To-day we are, accordingly, at the beginning of a new period of interest in things Christian. The antipathy to foreign men and movements is, as we have seen, largely gone. Multitudes of the responsible men of Japan are looking with a certain degree of interest and perhaps even with sympathy towards Christianity. Their revived interest is not due to the benefits which Christianity is thought to confer in directions of material civilization, political advantage or interna-

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tional equality, but rather to the intrinsic nature of Christianity as a religion capable of providing strong foundations for moral life. Japan begins to see that in Christianity men get into vital relation with spiritual realities; that somehow it grips a man and makes him better in his individual character, and in his social relations; more pure, more responsible, more faithful and more trustworthy. Such is the dominant characteristic of Japan's new interest in Christianity, and it is a hopeful sign. It will draw to the churches the morally earnest. I do not anticipate any such headlong rush into the Christian Church during the coming period as took place during the eighties. Church members will increase in numbers slowly, but such growth is to be desired, for it will prove to be more healthful, more hopeful and more permanent.

The generalization made in the preceding pages as to the characteristic of this new period, will be more adequately realized by the reader if I present some quotations and describe some personal experiences.

During the eighties Marquis Ito, Japan's most illustrious statesman, who received from Yale in 1902 the Doctorate of Laws, said:—"I regard religion itself as quite unnecessary for a nation's

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life; science is far above superstition; and what is religion—Buddhism or Christianity—but superstition and therefore a possible source of weakness to a nation? I do not regret the tendency to free thought or atheism which is almost universal in Japan, because I do not regard it as a source of danger to the community."

Late in the nineties a Christian young man whom I have known intimately for years was sent as a reporter for one of the large Osaka daily papers to interview the Marquis on some important economic problems. After the interview was over, turning to the young man, Marquis Ito asked where he was educated. On receiving the answer, "At the Doshisha" (the Christian University founded by Drs. Joseph Neesima and J. D. Davis), he said:—"The only true civilization is that which rests on Christian principles. As Japan must gain her civilization on these principles, those young men who receive Christian education will be the main factors in the development of future Japan." The significance of this utterance rises in part from its contrast to his own previous statement but in greater part from the fact that in important respects, the personal life of the man who made it is far from ideal.

Baron Mayejima has recently said:—"I firmly

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believe we must have religion as the basis of our national and personal welfare. No matter how large an army or navy we may have, unless we have righteousness at the foundation of our national existence, we shall fall short of the highest success. I do not hesitate to say that we must rely upon religion for our highest welfare. And when I look about me to see what religion we may best rely on, I am convinced that the religion of Christ is the one most full of strength and promise for the individual and for the nation." These surely are remarkable words for one who was reared a Budddist and a Confucianist, and who has held high rank in the government.

In December of 1903, after a thirty hour sail on a small inland steamer, I landed at Imabari in Shikoku. Immediately after supper I was taken off to speak at the theatre meeting for which arrangements had been made. I found that I was to be the last of four speakers. Snow was falling and a cold wind blew through that barn-like building. Some 300 men and a few women were seated on the floor. Being cold and tired and seeing the array of talent advertised I tried to excuse myself. The pastor of the church, Mr. Tsuyumu (a better man and a more devoted pastor never walked the earth) declined to listen

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to my appeal. The previous night, said he, a Buddhist priest had lectured in a temple near by and had urged his people to study Christianity. It seems that he had been sent by his sect to study in Yale. Insufficient funds had, however, forced him to seek work as a domestic. And in the Christian family where he served, he found living religion in their daily family worship, and observance of the Sabbath. The spirit of the family together with other experiences in the United States had deeply impressed him. As a result, on returning to Japan he had told his people, as on the previous night, that Buddhism was dead. "Christianity," said he, "is the living religion to-day and I advise you to study it when you have opportunity."

Two or three days later I preached in Marugame and strangely enough under remarkably similar circumstances. The night before a Buddhist lecturer from Tokyo, Priest Wada I was told, had addressed a Buddhist audience and in the course of his address had said, "It makes no difference what is the name of the religion we believe. The important thing is to have religious truth and real religious life. This you will not find in Buddhism to-day. We have fine clothes and ceremonials and organization, but not religious

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vitality. That you will find in Christianity." I was told that this speech much incensed his audience who were ardent Buddhists. They charged him with propagating Christianity. Marugame is the only town in Japan where I have been unable to carry through my sermon; a Buddhist crowd completely broke up one of our preaching services.

In the summer of 1902, Professor Murakami, perhaps the most eminent Buddhist scholar and lecturer in Japan, made a tour of Shikoku at the expense of the local temples lecturing on Buddhism. On account of engagements I did not have the pleasure of hearing him. But the universal report given me in the towns he visited was that he was really introducing Christianity rather than expounding and defending Buddhism.

Mr. Miyagawa, one of our most eminent pastors and eloquent preachers, told me in November, 1903, that Professor Murakami's work on Buddhism was virtually a comparative study of Buddhism and Christianity. It was evident to Mr. Miyagawa that Professor Murakami not only understands Christianity thoroughly but also practically accepts it, though of course he makes no proclamation of that fact.

Viscount Watanabe, statesman and Buddhist,

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in an interesting magazine article, warns Christians against the idea that Christianity must be modified to suit the Japanese temperament. "One reason for the deterioration of Buddhism has been its modification to suit Japanese ideas. I do not say that Buddhism is not a religion; but when I ask myself how many modern Buddhists there are that have religious life, I answer, None."

The reader is not to take too literally the statements made concerning the death of Buddhism. They are extreme. Indeed it seems to me that Buddhism has more real vitality to-day than it had fifty years ago. Not only has contact with Christianity stimulated it by conflict but also by giving to it new religious ideals and methods. The battle between Christianity and Japanese Buddhism is just beginning rather than just ending. Nevertheless, many Japanese feel that pure Buddhism is dead, and that the Buddhism which to-day has life is a superstitious amalgam of corrupt Buddhism and polytheistic Shintoism.

Early in 1900 many were asking what, in view of the degenerate times, Japanese young men should read. Baron Kikuchi, then Minister of Education, answering this question, and feeling the pressing character of the practical ethical problems of the times said, in a magazine article,

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that there were two books he would recommend to all young men as having the highest value, the Japanese New Testament and Smiles' "Self Help" (translated into Japanese). The significance of this recommendation is the more marked as it came from the Minister of Education.

Doctor Nitobe, the gifted author of that beautiful idealistic description of the Ethics of Old Japan entitled "Bushido" (the Way of the Warrior), lamenting the passing of that system says: "Now its days are closing, sad to say, before its full fruition, and we turn in every direction for other sources of sweetness and light, of strength and comfort, but among them there is as yet nothing found to take its place. The profit-and-loss philosophy of Utilitarians and Materialists finds favour among logic choppers with half a soul. The only other ethical system which is powerful enough to cope with Utilitarianism and Materialism is Christianity. But as yet it has not divested itself of its foreign accoutrements."

One man stands preeminent among Japan's great statesmen for his sterling manhood and powerful influence, alike in politics, education and commerce; moreover his personal character is above reproach. Addressing a body of Christians he is reported to have said:—"It is a ques-

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tion whether as a people we have not lost moral fibre as a result of the many new influences to which we have been subjected. Development has been intellectual and not moral. The efforts which Christians are making to supply to the country a high standard of conduct are welcomed by all right thinking people. As you read your Bible you may think it is antiquated. The words it contains may appear so, but however much the world may progress the noble life which it holds up to admiration is something that will never be out of date. Live and preach this life, and you will supply to the nation just what it needs at the present juncture."

At the annual meeting of the Kumiai churches, November, 1904, whose membership exceeds 10,000, and whose self-supporting churches number nearly twoscore, the sermon, preached by the Rev. Mr. Kozaki, was devoted to a statement of the signs of the new period. Among many other items of interest and importance he instanced the frequency with which the higher institutions of learning are opening their large halls to our Christian pastors for direct addresses on Christianity, an impossibility even five or six years ago. In November, 1903, I myself gave a course of three lectures on Evolution and Religion

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before the Teachers' Association of Kochi, and it was attended by from 300 to 400 teachers and gentlemen of the city. At that time I was also asked to speak to over 1,000 young men from the two upper classes of the several higher schools of that place, all recitations being suspended for the purpose of allowing attendance. The students with their teachers marched in companies to the assembly hall from the different schoolhouses of the city. The following day I addressed a similar group of over 1,000 young women from the girls' schools in the same city. Examples like these are fairly common to-day although they were unheard of six or seven years ago.

Whoever considers the facts presented in this chapter can hardly fail to acknowledge that Japan is fairly launched on a period of changed attitude towards all things foreign. This will become increasingly evident as we study the war and what it has already accomplished in developing national sentiment and purpose.

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V

IS JAPAN ORIENTAL OR OCCIDENTAL? JAPANESE TREATMENT OF RUSSIAN PRISONERS

In geographical position and inherited civilization Japan is unquestionably oriental. The real question, therefore, is how far occidental modes of life and thought have as a matter of fact modified Japan's older life and ways of thinking. The answer given to this question is usually settled by a priori considerations. It asserts that a nation's inner life cannot change materially in any brief period; that, therefore, however Japan may have adopted occidental methods of government, education, offensive and defensive warfare, commerce, industry, etc., all these things are as superficial, as the clothes a man wears; they have not modified the life of the spirit, the inner thought and feeling of the people. This general topic is discussed at some length in my "Evolution of the Japanese." Here, therefore, I shall merely give facts connected with the Russo-Japanese war which throw additional light on the subject.

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In discussing the question, however, we must first realize that the outer and freely chosen life of a man or of a people, is an expression of the inner life. If this were not so we should have no standing ground for any discussion whatever. We must also define our meaning of oriental and occidental. In my own use of the word, oriental signifies that type of civilization which does not recognize the value or the rights of the individual person as such. It represents autocratic absolutism in government; it emphasizes the rights of the superior and the duties of the inferior; it ranks man as inherently superior to woman; it has no place for popular education or for representative government, and it esteems military virtue as the highest type known. In other words in oriental civilization the community is supreme, the individual of no value whatever in himself.

By occidental I mean that type of civilization which recognizes and builds on the inherent value and inalienable rights of the individual person. The community exists for its individuals. The final motive of conduct is the highest welfare of the individuals in the community. The communal life is the means and not an end. It does not ignore the value or the necessity of com-

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munal life, but it finds the justification for, and the roots of communal life in the inherent nature and needs of individual persons. The typical representatives of occidental civilization to-day are England and America. To occidental, therefore, I prefer the word Anglo-Saxon. In its logically developed forms, Anglo-Saxon civilization emphasizes constitutional and representative government, obedience to law, inherent equality and liberty of all men even though in social rank and personal attainments there may be great inequalities; it emphasizes popular education, the mutual duties and rights of older and younger, superior and inferior, the prime importance of personal character, the equal importance of the family with the military, the commercial, and the industrial virtues.

The present contention is that the external modes of the life of a people, if it is free and voluntary, is a true index of the inner thought and feeling of that people, and that these two general types of civilization are real expressions of the inner thought and feeling of the peoples where they are found. Where absolutism is both dominant and universally accepted, there is found the least sympathy for the sufferings of the lower classes, the least effort to elevate and

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educate them, the least recognition of their rights as human beings, and the least sympathetic and helpful treatment by those in power. I do not mean to say that absolutism is always indifferent to the suffering of the lower classes. There may be at times real sympathy and help bestowed; but it is extended as a condescension, a free and virtuous act, not as a duty which the inferior has a right to claim. On the other hand, where the recognition of the individual is the basic principle of a civilization, there we find not only a government embodying that idea in its political, judicial, and educational forms of organized life, but also in wide-spread efforts both for individual relief from suffering and for the elevation of dependents to the ranks of self-dependence. I do not maintain that in such a civilization there is no suffering and want, but rather that in such a civilization the man in the street is thought to have his rights which those in authority and prosperity are bound to consider.

Oriental or autocratic governments never, of course, describe themselves in the above terms, nor would they acknowledge the description of them here given. They chose, rather, the analogy of the family, from which, indeed, autocracy has developed. The Oriental Emperor is the

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great father of his people. His absolute authority in the nation is but the developed form of the authority of the father in the ancient family. However beautiful it is in theory, in fact it is unworkable because of the immensity of the family, now become a nation of many millions. The father cannot now know individually nor have direct relations with all his children, and for this reason he cannot himself do them justice nor insure that justice be done them by the other members of his family. In the face of these practical difficulties, orientalism holds fast to the rights and the authority of the Emperor, and denies the right of initiative as well as the inherent value of the individual. Occidentalism on the other hand, regards the rights and the development of all individuals as of the highest importance, and provides means whereby the individual shares in the responsibilities of government. In a word, orientalism exalts the Emperor regardless of the individual, while occidentalism emphasizes the inherent worth and rights of the individual.

If these are correct principles of judgment, then we have good reason for asserting that Japan has definitely passed out of exclusively oriental life and is to-day, in important respects occidental. For within the past fifty years no

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nation has so freely and so completely changed her estimate of the worth of the individual as has Japan.

I shall not stop to present the proofs of this change as seen in her political, judicial, industrial, commercial, educational, and philanthropic activity and organization. The general facts in these directions are widely known. The particular principle embodied and expressed in them all is exactly this Anglo-Saxon principle of regard and esteem for the individual. Japan has definitely entered on what I have elsewhere called the Commano-Individualistic state of social evolution,[1] but which we may briefly call occidentalism or still better Anglo-Saxonism. This change of attitude in regard to the individual has struck deep into Japanese life. I shall here confine myself to illustrations taken from the Japanese treatment of Russian prisoners.

Properly to appreciate the significance of their feelings towards these prisoners, we should call to mind a few facts. First of all, let us not forget how deep-seated in the human breast is the desire for revenge; also the feeling of scorn for alien peoples. Even we Anglo-Saxons, boasted products of the highest civilization, priding our-

[1] Cf. "Evolution of the Japanese," pp. 332–343.

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selves on our colour as a badge of divine election through the survival of the fittest, even we have these feelings of revenge and scorn, proved by many sad demonstrations. What then might have been expected of the Japanese who only yesterday entered into our modes of thought and life? We must also remember the causes leading to this war; the indignities and insults that have been heaped upon Japan for the past fifty years; the continuous difficulties between Russian and Japan sailors in the northern seas over fishing rights; the Russian, German, and French interference in the treaty which Japan made with China after her victorious war, whereby Port Arthur was restored to China and within three years, taken over by Russia. We must also bear in mind Russian intrigues with Korea, her evident plan to secure Masampo, within fifty miles of Japan's western islands, and to make it another Port Arthur; the procrastinating diplomacy by which, while she was saying "Peace, Peace," Russia was hurrying regiment and battleship to the front; and finally we must not forget the cruelties practiced by Russian soldiers on Japanese scouts and soldiers as they lay wounded on the battle-field. Corpses were found by Japanese soldiers whose arms

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had been twisted out of their sockets; whose eyes had been gouged out and their places filled with mud; whose mouths had been filled with gunpowder and exploded. Repeatedly have Russian soldiers been seen deliberately killing wounded Japanese soldiers. And more horrible still was the refusal of the Russians at Port Arthur for five consecutive months to grant an armistice for removal of the wounded and burial of the dead. When the Red Cross corps attempted to perform its errands of mercy, they were repeatedly shot down. In the attack of August 19–23, 3,200 Japanese were reported missing. This means that they had fallen inside the enemy's lines or so close to them that without Russian permission they could not be removed. At the least estimate 2,000 of these were merely wounded. These men were allowed to perish after days of intolerable agony without food, or water or any relief whatever, lying there among the putrifying dead, within a few yards of their own countrymen and under the eyes and at the mercy of "Christian" Russians.

After all this, what sort of treatment of Russian prisoners might have been expected from the Japanese government? and what sentiments towards the prisoners from the people? Retali-

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ation at the front would have been most natural surely, but we have no evidence that it occurred. Not having been there myself I can bear no testimony on this point. But for six months after Russian prisoners began to arrive in Matsuyama, I lived in that city, talked with Japanese soldiers, doctors, nurses and people, saw what they did, and heard what they said; I am therefore ready to bear testimony as to the real feeling of the people. To tell the whole of my experience would lengthen this chapter unduly. For the sake of brevity, therefore, I shall confine myself to a few typical details.

The first Russians brought to Matsuyama were not prisoners, but "guests," twenty-two men of the *Variag* who had been wounded in the first conflict at Chemulpo.

As hospital accommodations on shore and in the neutral war-ships were insufficient, the Japanese Red Cross Society took charge of these men, and from first to last treated them as guests. Quarters were fitted up for them in Matsuyama and provided with a special surgeon, an interpreter, a pharmacist, and eleven nurses. Beds of foreign style were supplied, also blankets, sheets, pillows and pillow-cases. Foreign foods, such as bread and meat were also given

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the men. The Governor, Vice-Governor, Chief of Police, and heads of villages, made "visits of condolence." Fresh cut flowers were provided for their rooms every few days. The Emperor sent special word of "consolation" and asked them to make known their wants. Those who had lost limbs or eyes should be supplied with artificial ones at his personal expense. As the "guests" recovered they were given much freedom. In the yard of the hospital I watched them as they played ball with their nurses, apparently having a jolly time. All war news, caricatures and even pictures were kept carefully from them lest they be led to unhappy thoughts. I carried to the hospital two volumes of *Harper's Weekly* of our own Civil War times. But they were returned as likely to cause the Russians unpleasant memories. When the "guests" had completely regained their strength they were given new clothes and sent back to Russia.

I was told in August that the expense of caring for those twenty-two Russian "guests" had amounted to $600 per month. Could any treatment excel this for kindliness of thought and feeling? I doubt if those men had ever had such a delightful time in their lives before. Photographs were often taken of them with their

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nurses and doctors and guards, and they carried copies of these photographs back to Russia with them. Though desiring to be of service if possible, and though I called several times for this purpose, there was absolutely nothing for me to do for the comfort of these guests. Prisoners who soon arrived by scores and by hundreds could, of course, receive no such minutely considerate and expensive treatment, yet, even here, I was repeatedly surprised at what was done.

The severely wounded were brought to town on litters. I supposed the authorities would at least have required that able-bodied Russian prisoners carry these litters; but no, Japanese coolies were provided. This was done through consideration of their feelings. Those who, not able to walk, could yet sit up, were brought into the city riding in jinrikishas (sometimes facetiously called by travellers "pull-man-cars"). I noticed the smiles of these prisoners as, for the first time, they entered this strange vehicle and were pulled off by a small Japanese runner. They evidently experienced the usual sensations of the foreigner, who, for the first time since infancy, is wheeled about as a baby.

The prisoners first brought to Matsuyama were manifestly anxious, and this was natural, for one

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of their interpreters told me that Russian soldiers are taught that as prisoners in Japan they are sure to be beheaded in public in order to arouse national patriotism. In view of this dread anticipation the Matsuyama authorities arranged that whenever new squads of prisoners arrived some of those who had come before should go to meet them, and thus in a moment, disabuse their minds of their apprehension. Able bodied or slightly wounded prisoners were distributed among several Buddhist temples suitably guarded. The food prepared was partly foreign, bread and meat being served once a day, so I was told, thus making the actual cost of food supplied to the prisoner greater than that given to the Japanese soldier. Mosquito nets were provided for all, being important though not essential, for their comfort. Extraordinary liberty was granted these prisoners; under specified conditions squads of them were allowed to go to the shore for sea bathing; others went for baths to the famous hot springs at Dogo, about a mile from the city. Sometimes I met groups of pedestrians out for the joy of a walk. They were accompanied by a guide, rather than by a guard; for the particular time which I recall showed about twenty men led by a soldier who

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carried neither sword nor gun, another soldier similarly unarmed bringing up the rear. How the government could have been more considerate in its treatment of the prisoners, it is difficult to imagine. The public meeting hall was especially fitted up for the Russian officers and they were allowed to engage servants and to provide themselves with better food if they wished. I have been told that even then these officers grumbled more or less, but surely without cause.

The wounded of course received special care. Hospital buildings of a temporary nature were erected in the drill ground outside the city, an exceedingly beautiful and wholesome place, and, so far as I could judge, every precaution was taken and preparation made for their health and comfort. A leading military surgeon was sent down by His Majesty, the Emperor, to take charge of the Russian wounded. In July I had the pleasure of dining with him and learned many interesting facts. He it was who, several years before, had persuaded the authorities to use the particular variety of bullet and powder with which the army has since then been equipped. The grounds urged were the small caliber of the bullet and the harmlessness of the powder, producing wounds, which while temporarily disa-

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bling a man, would be quite likely to heal. He told me with justifiable pride that of the 600 Russian surgical cases already handled by himself but four had proved fatal and two others might soon be added to the number, making thus an average of ninety-nine per cent. of recoveries. As an instance of the exceeding care exercised, let me instance the case of those men whose wounds could not be satisfactorily diagnosed in Matsuyama. On the return to the port of the *Hakuai Maru*, the Japanese Red Cross Hospital Ship, these men were taken thither a distance of five miles and on board the ship were examined under X-rays. The bullets thus located were extracted the following day on the return of the prisoners to Matsuyama. All this illustrates the official treatment of the prisoners but what of the attitude of the common people towards these same men?

As Russian prisoners arrived, crowds gathered to see them. What now should we have expected from such crowds, under such conditions? Unpleasant remarks surely, even jeers and taunts. Fancy hundreds of Chinese prisoners brought into any American city, especially into a town where Chinamen had never been seen, Chinamen who had treated Americans as Russians have

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treated the Japanese. What "welcome" would they receive? I was amazed and delighted to hear no unkind word as I watched the prisoners pass along. The only remark I heard was "Kitanai, Kitanai" (dirty, dirty), and they certainly were dirty. Perhaps they were not to blame for this, but from first to last during my five months in Matsuyama after they began to arrive, I heard no suggestion of jeer or taunt or scorn. Even in talking about the Russians such sentiments did not appear. Rather was there evidence of pity for them, with a desire to help them.

The people of Japan clearly understand what the government has taken great pains to teach, that this is not a war of races. Japan is not fighting the Russian people but the Russian government; the individual, therefore, in his personal relation should not be affected by the war. The people know, too, that many of the Russian soldiers have been forced to fight against their wills. A letter was printed in a Matsuyama paper purporting to be a translation of an anonymous letter from Poland, asking the Japanese to be kind to Polish soldiers because no Poles approve the war or fight willingly against the Japanese. Such an appeal as this moved the Japanese

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heart mightily. It strikes a well known dilemma in Japanese ethics, "gi-ri," requiring one to do his duty despite his natural feelings. The Japanese know, too, how desperate is the situation in Russia herself and they pity a country so pressed.

Thus it has come to pass that, despite the natural causes for retaliation, and for emotions of revenge and hate, we have in Japan to-day the manifestation of reverse emotions. The following is a further illustration.

The boys in our Matsuyama Boys' Club planned for a picnic one Saturday afternoon. As they were about to start for the hills, one suggested that instead they visit the prisoners. All agreed, and on the way there they bought fruit and cigarettes which they tossed to the men over the low rear wall of the temple, much to the personal comfort of the delighted recipients. I learned later, that so many citizens took to this "sport" that guards were stationed in the rear as well as in the front and the practice stopped. They feared lest some evil-minded person might take advantage of the custom to introduce poison with the fruit and harm the prisoners.

One hot day in July I went at sundown with my family to the drill ground to see how

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the wounded men were accommodated and cared for. A crowd of several hundred Japanese had evidently gone there for the same purpose. Around the hospital buildings, at some distance, two lines of straw rope were stretched. They were about ten feet apart and no person was allowed in the intervening space. Within the inner line hundreds of prisoners, all in white, were strolling around or lying on the grass smoking, chatting, and laughing. One group played baseball with much interest and laughter. Beyond the outer line was the populace looking on with quiet interest and apparent satisfaction. The whole was to me an interesting display on both sides of the line. Take it all in all, the treatment of, and the feeling towards, those prisoners both by the government and by the people was as nearly ideal as possible. So much did the prisoners themselves appreciate the goodwill of the people that a group of fifteen of them (Jews) wrote an appeal to the Emperor beseeching that when the end of the war should come and the prisoners should be set free, they might be allowed to remain in Japan and become his subjects. This letter was translated into Japanese and published in the local press to the evident satisfaction of the citizens.

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A single instance of Japanese cruelty to a Russian prisoner has been reported, which I pass on. It seems that a strapping big fellow had surrendered himself to a single Japanese picket. When they reached camp, the hands of the Russian were firmly tied behind his back with a stout cord several feet long. Keeping at a safe distance behind, the Japanese had driven his captive into camp, prepared to jerk him up if need be. This displeased the captain of the company, who rebuked his picket for giving his prisoner such needless pain and humiliation. To which the little fellow replied that although the Russian had surrendered voluntarily, when he was near enough for it, the monstrous fellow had tried to bite him. By a struggle, however, he had saved himself and succeeded in tying the hands of his prisoner. Out of curiosity the captain called an interpreter and asked the captive why, after surrendering, he had tried to bite the Japanese. "Bite him!" he said in astonishment, "why, I tried to kiss him." The Japanese soldier, never having been kissed in his life, did not understand the heartiness of his captive's salutation, nor the depth of his gratitude for the relief which had come to him through being captured.

To present my argument completely I should

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now describe in detail the work and spirit of the Red Cross Society, both throughout the country and at the front. I should make clear its impartial treatment of foes and friends alike. Yet this is already so generally known that I pass it by. To show nevertheless, that it truly represents the sentiment and the spirit of the nation, I must give a few statistics. The membership of the Red Cross Society exceeds 870,000, their annual fees amounting to 2,000,000 yen ($1,000,000). The society has already accumulated 7,000,000 yen and owns besides many hospitals, two hospital ships, one of which is in all probability unsurpassed by that of any nation. Its trained nurses number 3,000 women and 700 men and it has a regular corps of 280 physicians. The Red Cross Society truly stands for a national movement and the national spirit.

Whence has come to Japan this beautiful altruism, this pity and good-will even for a cruel and deceitful foe? Is it a part of her oriental inheritance and civilization? Why then did it not exist in Old Japan? When the armies of Hideyoshi conquered Korea (1598) the ears of 30,000 Koreans were sent back to Japan pickled in vinegar. They were deposited in a mound in Kyoto, covered with soil and surmounted with a monument

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commemorating the savage event. This monument declares its meaning by its name, Mimizuka, Ear Mound.

The truth is that many subtle causes have been at work even from the time that Japan first came into contact with the West, and they have led to profound changes in the inner life of the people. Torture, public exhibition of beheaded trunks and trunkless heads, many forms of cruelty and injustice once regarded with indifference, have all come to be as abhorrent to the Japanese to-day as to an American or an Englishman. Careful thought will show that regard for others as individuals with rights and feelings such as we ourselves possess is the tap root of this new sentiment of pity and sympathy.

So far then as we judge Japan's treatment of Russian prisoners to be the genuine expression of her inner life must we count her as belonging to the occidental rather than to the oriental system of civilization.

There are those who count the results of missionary work solely by the statistical tables of church membership and of students in Christian schools. No method of estimating results could be more faulty. If the work of the missionary is primarily to plant seed which shall result in en-

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nobled lives then the wide influence which he exerts consciously or unconsciously on the whole life of a nation should be taken into account in making truthful estimates. I do not claim the Red Cross Society as the product solely or even indirectly of exclusively missionary work. But it is not difficult to see that the wide proclamation by missionaries first, and later by pastors and evangelists of Christian teaching to love one's enemies, and the practical exemplification of this teaching by the Christian community has been one of the many influences which have led to Japan's present high ideals and practice.

For fear of being misunderstood I must add that I am not ignorant of certain forms of compassion taught by Buddhism and certain forms of sympathy practiced in Japan before her contact with the West. Neither have I forgotten the hideous cruelties practiced in Christendom even down to relatively modern times. Still in spite of these indubitable facts, it seems to me clear that the civilization of old Japan paid almost no attention to the value and rights of man as man, whereas the predominant and basal characteristic of her new civilization adopted from the West,—regard for the individual—controls not only her external organization but permeates her inner

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spirit and is shown in her present estimate of the value and rights of the individual.

I should add that what I have called occidental or Anglo-Saxon civilization is a relatively modern thing even in the West. Only in recent times has this principle gained such headway as to control legislation and political organization, though, manifestly, it has not as yet gained complete control. Better than the terms oriental and occidental are the terms Communal and Communo-Individual Civilization. The former terms necessarily mislead and are liable to produce ill will and rivalry. The latter are descriptive and show true relations. It would seem that, in her social evolution, Japan has definitely crossed the line that separates the Communal from the Communo-Individual social order, whereas in Russia these principles are to-day in deadly struggle, the Communal principle being still dominant.

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VI

THE MISSION OF JAPAN

I AM acquainted with no more striking effect on Japan of her intercourse with white races than the change wrought in her national ideal. For 250 years that ideal was international isolation. She desired neither to give nor to receive from other nations. She wished to live her own life in absolute independence and self-sufficiency, as though in a separate world.

To-day, this ideal is reversed. No nation is now more ready to learn from others or more desires to play its rôle on the world's stage. Interracial intercourse has fired her ambitions. "Japan's World Mission" is a theme of frequent discussion in the magazines and debating societies of Japan. This mission, say her thinkers, arises from her peculiar geographical position and her psychic character. Both unite to make her the natural meeting ground, the clearing house, of the Far East and the Far West. She is fitted by psychic nature to interpret each to the other, and to unite the best elements of both. For thou-

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sands of years the white man and the yellow have been absolutely separated. Each race has followed its own bent of life and thought with the present result of radically diverse civilizations. Language, social structure, conceptions of deity and of men; of family, of state and individual, of art, and music—all these, through a millennial process of divergent social evolution have become wholly unlike. Divergent biological evolution has at the same time produced distinct types of men. Now, at the end of the ages, the separating barrier of space has been abolished and free social intercourse has begun. Here arises the problem. Can the East and the West grow together again? Are social and psychic evolution to be compared to the branches of a tree, so that, once parted at the fork, continued growth only carries the leafy fringes further and further apart, or are they to be compared to flowing water? Parted for a season, each stream acquires the characteristics of the soil through which it passes; but later, meeting again in a single channel, perfect union takes place, the new single stream combining the qualities of the two that were separate. Which is the correct symbol of social and psychic evolution?

Evidently only free intermarriage of the yellow

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and the white races carried on for centuries could now unite their biological traits and produce a human race possessing the average physical characteristics of those races. Does this hold true also of psychic evolution? Is the convergent psychic evolution of different races dependent on the intermarriage of those races? Is man's psychic nature such that the intellectual, emotional and volitional gains of thousands of years of divergent psychic evolution are exclusively confined to the children of the race that has passed through that evolution, so that the psychic modification of one race by another may be brought about only by the intermarriage of two races? Or may those gains be passed on or exchanged without intermarriage merely by social intercourse?

These are questions of the highest importance regarding racial and social betterment. The outlook is dark or bright as we adopt one view or the other. Japanese writers take the second view. Baron Kaneko has written:—"The Japanese mind is earnestly engaged moulding into one the two forms of culture, the oriental and occidental, its ambition being to harmonize them."

Pastor Hoshino says:—"Just as the individual life is ennobled by the consciousness of having a

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heaven-appointed mission, so must it be with the life, progress and activity of a nation." Then pointing out the "convictions which are at present shaping themselves in the consciousness of the Japanese nation as to their world-wide mission," he mentions four chief points to prove to the world that modern civilization is not local but universal.

1. "It seems to be thought by many that modern civilization may indeed be put on like a garment by inferior peoples, but that it cannot be digested, assimilated and made a part of their very life. But this is a view which does not give expression to the real value of civilization. Japan has not put on civilization as a garment, but has taken it into her very life and grown strong thereby. It is surely her destiny to advance and show what a great thing civilization is."

2. "To harmonize eastern and western thought." Reviewing briefly Japan's history he concludes:—"Thus Japan has come to understand the best in both western and eastern civilizations, and she ought to be able to do something towards harmonizing their various elements, and show how the excellencies of each may supply the deficiencies of the other. This surely is a part of Japan's heaven-appointed mission."

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3. "To regenerate China and Korea." "Japan has a special responsibility in carrying on this great work. As Japan has freely received of the best they themselves possessed, so now she ought freely to give them her best, and the best she has attained from her western friends, a mission from which she dare not shrink."

4. "To promote the peace and commerce of the east." "This, of course, is not the duty of Japan alone, but of all the superior races, yet Japan has a special mission here."

Japanese thinkers seem to appreciate more clearly than some of our western professors of sociology, that the period of divergent social evolution has passed with the passing of geographical isolation.

We are now entering a period of universal convergent social evolution. The social and psychic gains of the races and nations which during the past have developed apart from each other are now to be mutually exchanged, and this by a process not of racial intermarriage or military domination, but of free social intercourse. By this, all those who share in the process will be gainers. Japan is in the forefront of the movement. Her position and history fit her to be the leader. Already, in no

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small measure has she accomplished for herself the amalgamation of eastern and western culture. She is now starting on the new rôle of teacher and leader of the Far East. With magnificent comprehension of her opportunities she has opened her educational institutions to Chinese and Korean students. In December, 1904, not less than 5,000 Chinese students were in Japan, and in June of the same year over ninety Chinese cadets were graduated from the Japanese Military Academy, and not less than 500 more were either in the academy or in courses leading to it. Many military and other schools in the provincial capitals of China employ Japanese instructors. Dr. Beach reported in October, 1904, on his return from a visit to China, that he had seen a Chinese college in process of erection in which were suites of rooms for fifty-six Japanese professors. A few days after the breaking out of the war, our University Extension Society in Matsuyama held a debate in regard to war questions. The unanimity of opinion was striking. All agreed that victory would crown Japanese arms, but that Japan should in no case seek military domination of any part of the Asiatic continent. But equally emphatic was the opinion that she *must* take the leading position of in-

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fluence, and that this was to be secured only by sending to those lands teachers, able and true in knowledge and character. Japan was to dominate and lead the orient by sheer mental and moral ability.

But does Japan have a mission to the West as well? Is she to contribute any element of permanent value to universal civilization? Of this there can be no doubt. She has already accomplished much in art. Whether the ambitious belief of some of her young men is to be realized that Japan will produce the universal religion, displacing thereby all existing faiths, only time can show. Discussion of this question is hardly needed here. Sufficient is it for us to know that such aspirations are found in Japan today. A more manifest mission of Japan to the West is the contribution she is likely to make to the development of our culture in conduct. Here the Asiatic is far and away superior to the American and the European. Compared with the average Asiatic the most of us are country bumpkins in matters of courtesy and in social relations. That is what they have conspicuously developed and that is what we conspicuously lack. Japan will perhaps lead in bringing us to recognize our defect, and may help us to gain the better way.

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From being the most secluded and self-sufficient people of the earth, Japan has advanced to the forefront of progressive open-mindedness. The white peril so long feared has proved to be the very tonic and stimulus required to place her in the advance guard of progressive nations. She now takes her part in doing the world's work and seeks, in ways at once wise, humane, just and powerful, to restrain the greedy aggressor and to build up the weak and the backward. At this point I cannot refrain from contrasting the policy of the Japanese government towards China with the short-sighted policy of the United States towards the same country. What golden opportunities we lose! To-day Japan is exerting the influence which we also might exert, did we not exclude Chinese students from our institutions by excluding them from our country.

Many quotations from Japanese writers might be presented. I give but one. It is from my friend Mr. K. Uchimura:—

"Two streams of civilization flowed in opposite directions when mankind descended from their primitive homes on the table-land of Iran or Armenia. That towards the west passed through Babylon, Phœnicia, Greece, Rome, Germany, England, and culminated in America, while that

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through the east travelled through India, Thibet and China, culminating in the Manchoo Court of Peking. The moral world is also a magnet, with its two opposite poles, on the opposite banks of the Pacific; democratic, aggressive, inductive America, and the imperial, conservative, and deductive China. There have been constant attempts for the union of these magnetic currents. Grander tasks await the young Japan who has the best of Europe and the best of Asia at her command. At her touch the circuit is completed, and the healthy fluid shall overflow the earth."

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VII

A NEW PERIOD

THE opening of the war with Russia both makes and marks a period in the life of Japan. The dreadful reality of threatened armed attack by white men, feared for centuries, prepared for during forty-five years by Herculean efforts of national transformation, has at last burst upon her. Profound resentment and anger have been roused in Japan by Russian treatment of her interests and rights in the Far East, by the methods of her diplomacy and by her cruelty to Japanese women, scouts and wounded soldiers. But the most striking fact at the opening of this era, is the universal feeling of good will entertained by the Japanese towards the American and English peoples. Due to the relatively just and unselfish course of these two nations, in their official relations, Japan does not think of the present war as a conflict of the Far East with the West, of the brown man with the white. As already stated her government has taken great pains to say that this is neither a race war nor a religious war.

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The instruction repeatedly issued to the nation is:—"The Japanese government is fighting not the Russian people but their corrupt government."

So far as the feelings of Japan are concerned, then, the "white peril" as such, is a thing of the past. The solidarity of the white man against the yellow and the brown man has been broken. Perils from white men and white nations still remain, but they are recognized as individual and national and as not racial or religious, a distinction of the highest importance.

Japan also recognizes herself and her new civilization as in deep accord with Anglo-Saxon life. She feels that she is fighting in the interests of modern civilization. She counts herself in the forefront of modern life. This feeling in Japan is an important factor in the problems of the new era.

The real peril to-day to Japan and to eastern Asia is from the northern bear. Russian greed and aggression supported more or less openly by German and French ambitions constitute the objective point of Japanese resistance. Approval of Japan by English-speaking people since the opening of the war has aroused in the minds of the people a sense of gratitude and friendliness,

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proving as it does that the white race is not a united foe whom they must fear. Indeed this sympathy is joining them to the West in closer unity than ever before, making less and less possible the much talked of yellow peril led by Japan.

Whatever the results of the war, Japan will never return to her self-sufficient desire for isolation. She is too consciously inspired by her universal international intercourse to dream of shutting out the world again and of returning to her provincial insular life.

A marked characteristic of the period ushered in by the war is the exaltation of moral standards. The material prosperity of recent decades had made creature comforts so abundant and financial success so universal as to have lowered ethical standards. In fact, the moral soundness of the country was being widely questioned. The struggle which has involved the very existence of the nation has checked the materialistic trend and called forth the better qualities of the people. Self has been set aside, and consecration to a noble cause has ennobled the lives of multitudes. A year of warfare has tested the nation to her advantage. In startling contrast to Russia, Japan has yet to discover a case of cor-

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ruption or graft in connection with the immense sums thus far expended. In other words, the war is serving to strengthen the moral fibre and deepen the moral life of Japan. Heroes made strong by strife will return from the front and their influence on the people will be as a tonic.

An unexpected effect of the war is the wide religious sentiment aroused by it. Men and women of all ranks and education, contrary to recent custom, have taken part in religious rites. The God of War has been invoked and prayers for success have been offered, not only in private by individuals, but officially in gatherings attended by the highest dignitaries of the state. What does this signify? That in this time of struggle for national existence against a powerful foe, a sense of man's weakness has taken possession of the nation. The war has turned the minds of the people from their recent tendency to irreligion, back to their religious needs. "Life here is not all," they argue, "and whether its results be good or ill depends not exclusively on human wills and deeds. Heaven has a will and a purpose and man must have heaven's help to do heaven's will."

Shortly before the war an eminent Japanese preacher declared that not till some great calam-

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ity should overtake the people would they turn from their materialistic views of life to find religion and its values. This religious awakening has begun and is increasingly manifest. So marked have been the providences in the conflict that the common explanation of them, given by thinking men, has been "Ten-yu" (Heaven's Help). No doubt much of this religious feeling is superstition, but superstition though it be, it nevertheless represents religious feeling, and there is more hope for a man who acknowledges dependence on some divine power than for one who counts himself superior to all divine relations.

The development of religious sentiment in connection with the war might reasonably be supposed to crystallize itself about the national faiths, with a lessening of interest in Christianity. On the contrary, however, with rare exceptions, our churches have grown and their spiritual life has deepened.

In a word, the war is developing the moral and the religious life of the people and in proportion as it does this will the nation abandon her gross superstitions, her ancient polytheism, her unethical religions, and her empty ceremonials. The new period signifies the welding of Japan to the West in the deeper life of the Spirit.

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VIII

JAPAN'S RECENT DEVELOPMENT

WAR with China declared in June, 1894, was concluded in May, 1895, and Japan began at once to make phenomenal growth. The government led by inaugurating a generous post bellum program of military and naval expansion. She recognized that by the war she had definitely stepped into the world's arena and should prepare suitably to play the part she had marked out for herself.

She determined to win two points at least; first, recognition by western nations on a basis of political equality, second, effectual leadership of the Orient. And she decided to prepare to fight for these if necessary. Consequently, with the Chinese war indemnity of 250,000,000 yen at her disposal she laid immediate plans for military and naval enlargement. Battle-ships were ordered from western builders. Docks were constructed and shipbuilding in Japan was encouraged. Subsidized over-ocean merchant lines were organized and continuously developed.

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Arsenals, military schools, barracks, drill grounds, hospital corps, artillery and cavalry, with every line of military and naval equipment were improved and increased. At strategic points along the shore powerful, defensive fortifications were erected. Native inventions were fostered. Following the methods of the white peoples Japan thus set her face to hold her own place and to win her way to the front by force if need be.

In four years she gained the first of her main desires, abolition of the treaties with their hated "extra-territorial" clauses and through this abolition she secured full possession of her national sovereignty. Instead, however, of gaining increased leadership in the Far East, she found herself visibly losing even what she had. Russian diplomacy in China was slowly wresting this leadership from her, for Japanese honesty was no match for the bribe-giving methods of Russia. It gradually became evident to Japan that if she were to maintain even her existence as an independent people in the Far East she would some day have to fight the stealthy bear from the North. Such were the conditions stimulating the nation to industrial and commercial as well as to naval and military development. It made them zealous too in their study of foreign

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tongues, Russian becoming one of the favourite languages.

Industrial and commercial life flourished beyond expectation and almost beyond belief. Some idea of Japan's recent growth may be secured by an examination of the appended table of comparative statistics.

	1894.	1904.
Population,	41,000,000	46,000,000
Business companies,	4,595	8,612
Their Capital,	$309,000,000	$613,000,000
Capital of Banks,	56,000,000	270,000,000
Foreign Trade,	115,000,000	393,000,000
Government Income,	49,000,000	125,000,000
Money in Circulation,	138,000,000	296,000,000
Deposits in Savings Banks,	146,000,000	1,494,000,000
Clearing House Accounts of the Four Main Cities,	126,000,000	1,793,000,000
Oil Business,	5,000,000	16,000,000
Tonnage of Steamships,	120,000	715,000
" " Sailing Ships,	45,000	340,000
" " Navy,	65,000	275,000
Miles of Railway,	1,500	5,600

For a complete statistical study of Japan nothing can be compared to "Japan at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century."

The national scale of living has advanced by leaps and bounds. Salaries are from fifty to seventy-five per cent. higher than they were a dec-

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ade ago. The middle classes eat more and better food. They also wear better clothing. These they consider not luxuries but necessities. Expenses of living have likewise advanced so that, all in all, Japan's progress during the past decade has been phenomenal.

This glance at recent development in Japan makes clear the tremendous advantage she has derived from international intercourse. Without it, she could not have reached her present attainment. The dreaded white peril has proved to be a blessing, resulting in the rapid development of the people in population, general intelligence and energy, in rapidly increasing wealth, ease of life and general expansion of power.

But we must note that this issue of the white peril in Japan is due to the way she has met it. Were her railroads, factories, banks, mines, and every enterprise demanding capital, owned by foreign princes and financial potentates, as is the case in India, could Japan have prospered? Would not the dividends of these enterprises have gone to swell the wealth of foreign lands leaving the people of Japan in poverty and in ignorance? Would foreign capitalists or military rulers have worked for the development of the country as her own leaders have done? And with the same

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leaders, had the wealth and the dividends gone to foreign lands, could they have developed their country as they have been able to do through exclusive native ownership of native industries?

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IX

JAPAN'S ABILITY TO MAINTAIN A PROLONGED WAR

No question has been more anxiously or frequently asked me since my return to the country (September, 1904) than that of Japan's ability to carry on a prolonged war. Cannot Russia crush her by mere mass of numbers, or exhaust her by prolonging the conflict for years? I am no expert in matters financial or military. But what I have seen and known in Japan and many facts of general knowledge justify a rather definite answer to these questions.

Consider first Japan's ability to put up a strong fight. She has over 7,000,000 men between the ages of twenty and forty-five years, all of whom she could call into active service. While controlling the sea, she could beyond doubt put into Manchuria between two and three million fighting men.

Can Russia do anything comparable? Granted that she can double-track her entire trans-Siberian railroad. Can she possibly send to the front,

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feed, clothe and provide with arms and ammunition as many men as Japan can maintain there? Only railroad experts are able to answer this question. But discussion thus far published makes it appear improbable. In view then of Japan's superiority where the number of troops is involved, the odds of final victory are strongly with Japan. But Russia has such a tremendous population to draw from, say the doubters. Such persons do not realize that however large Russia's population may be, the soldiers cannot fight without going to the front. Her fighting power, therefore, is no greater than the carrying capacity of her railroad. They forget, furthermore, that the character, intelligence and education of a people count far more than mere numbers. To my mind, Japan's proximity to the field, added to the high character and enthusiastic patriotism of her common people, more than offset Russia's apparent advantages.

At the time of our own civil war twenty-five millions in the North sent to the front over two million soldiers. Japan can certainly do as well proportionately.

Consider next Japan's ability to carry on a long war. Several important facts must be kept in mind. Japanese farming is shared by men and

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women together, much of the hardest work in connection with the culture of rice, the staple product, is done by women. They know therefore how to farm. The farms, too, are so small and the work so largely done by human power, that women with the boys and older men are fully competent to carry on the entire agriculture of the nation, even if all the men of military age should be drafted into service. The situation in this respect is different, indeed, from that which prevails in the West, especially in America and England.

Furthermore, the population is already so dense, increasing also at the rate of half a million a year, that the loss by death of several hundred thousand men would not materially cripple the power of the nation. Japan has, moreover, taken her new civilization so seriously to heart and is applying it so judiciously that the death rate in her war is small beyond belief, astonishing the world. In European wars bullets destroy one man to four claimed by disease—whereas up to October, 1904, out of 20,000 deaths in the Japanese army 16,000 died of wounds and but 4,000 from illness. Of Japanese wounded over ninety per cent. survive and within a few weeks or months the major part of these are ready to re-

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turn to the front. Such facts as these mean much for Japan. Can Russia match them? Still further, Japan's manufacturing industries are young. A relatively small proportion of the people are consequently dependent upon them; and since the factory hands are largely young women from the country, if men are excessively drafted into the war, these women will readily return to their homes and take up the needed farming. This readjustment of the workers of the nation is relatively easy.

At the outbreak of hostilities it was assumed that the industries would necessarily suffer, and without waiting to be brought to ruin, many factories immediately shut down. As the war advanced, however, and the industrial situation was not materially disturbed, many of these factories reopened. The drain of war upon the country thus far has not perceptibly affected the industrial situation.

Similarly in regard to commerce, so long as Japan can retain her command of the sea, her over sea trade will not be seriously jeopardized. It is true that she has taken all her merchant marine for transport service, and this is no slight loss to the earning power of the nation. Foreign vessels have stepped in nevertheless and are

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doing a large business. Should the Russian fleet destroy the Japanese navy and blockade her principal ports, it would be indeed a sorry day for Japan. But in view of their own bad record such a contingency is now out of the question. The Japanese navy has had a year of unexampled experience. She has entrenched herself in success. What hope is there then for the inexperienced Baltic or Black Sea fleets?

Again, the nation itself, produces by far the larger part of its materials for the war. Immense arsenals, foundries, factories, and dry-docks are owned and run by the government. Immense sums of money are spent in the production of weapons and ammunition, ships, and torpedoes. Government expenditures in salaries, war expenses and in the production of war materials within her own territory return at once to the people, enabling them to live and to pay their taxes. The actual amount of material destroyed in fighting and the loans from foreign nations constitute the real loss to Japan of the war. This is small compared with the total amount expended in carrying it on. These considerations enable us to see why it is that, though the government may become deeply involved in debt to the people through public loans, the

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people themselves escape starvation or bankruptcy.

At the close of last year (1904) bankers and people alike were congratulating themselves on the financial situation after a year of war. The bankers asserted that the financial situation had not been materially altered by it. The people have made three loans to the government without in the least disturbing the money market. The nation is also rejoicing in a year of unusual crops. The rice crop for 1903 was twenty per cent. larger than the average of recent years while that for 1904 was twenty-five per cent. greater than the average. While there is of course much want and suffering among the families of those who have gone to the front, the vast majority are enjoying financial prosperity, and are abundantly able, as one banker said, to make loans twice and three times as large as those thus far made without seriously crippling the finances of the country.

An article by Baron Kaneko in the October *Review of Reviews* on "How Long Can Japan Carry on the War," presents many important financial details which need not be repeated here. But his conclusion that Japan can carry on the war for three years at least, and for five if neces-

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sary, seems eminently reasonable and in accord with what I have seen of the spirit and the temper of the people and of their agricultural, industrial, commercial, and financial conditions.

No foreigner can easily appreciate the extent to which this is the people's war. The China-Japanese war was practically that of the government. I do not mean to imply that the people were in the least opposed to it or that they were indifferent. They appeared fully interested and patriotic. But there was no wide popular interest in the problem previous to the event. The first war was, in a sense, unexpected, save possibly to those of the inner circle. The government led and the people loyally followed.

But in the present conflict the order has been reversed. The government was, indeed, making every possible preparation as events have demonstrated; but even to the last, she also did all in her power to avert it. For two or three years and particularly for the year preceding the outbreak, newspapers and magazines were eagerly discussing Russian, Chinese, Manchurian and Korean questions. The diplomacy and aggressions of Russia in Manchuria were taken seriously by the entire people who blamed the government for apparent indifference. In the spring of 1903

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seven professors of the Imperial University issued a joint work of much strength urging the importance of pushing Russia, either by diplomacy or by force, to an immediate withdrawal from Manchuria. "Now," they said, "is the time. Now or never."

When the Japanese National Diet opened in December, 1903, an ominous event occurred. Instead of making the usual formal reply to the opening Imperial address, the President of the Diet addressed the Throne in the name of the House virtually impeaching the cabinet for its procrastinating diplomacy with Russia. Politicians were eager to force Russia to an immediate acceptance of Japan's terms in regard to Korea and Manchuria. They were ready for war at once. The Emperor and his cabinet, still hoping to avoid so dreadful a conflict as would be necessitated by war with Russia, sent the Diet back for a new election unwilling to sever diplomatic relations through the act of an impetuous parliament. The event, however, throws light on the general attitude of the people and their readiness to go to war.

The present is the first people's war in the history of Japan. Hitherto, Japan's wars have been carried on by the *samurai*, the average man

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in the street, the shop or on the farm, having had not only nothing to say but nothing to do, except to provide the funds and to endure the ills of war. The present is the first war in which the entire nation has had opportunity to display its patriotism, and without doubt this fact is one of Japan's strong assets. It gives good reason for believing that the people will not consent to cease their fighting until they have accomplished their end. The government is to-day the spokesman of the people as never before in any previous age. Accordingly it may with reason count on every sacrifice essential to success. How long, then, can Japan continue the war? Until she wins or until she is ruined. There is no middle ground.

The natural counter question of great importance is, how long can Russia carry on the war? Not being a specialist on Russian affairs, I offer no specific discussion, but if appearances are correct, Russia's agricultural, industrial, financial, national and temperamental ability to carry on a long war are vastly inferior to those of Japan. She is beset with internal disorders and disloyalty. Corruption apparently well nigh universal, depletes her coffers and paralyzes her power. The war is not of the people but rather

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of a small bureaucratic coterie. Famine, poverty and disease, riot and rebellion stalk through the land, while the possibility of organized or efficient remedy seems beyond the power of the rulers. How long can Russia carry on the war? Only so long as the bureaucracy can keep its seat in the saddle, and can persuade European prejudice, and jealous fear of Japan to lend the needed millions for plunder of Russian princes and for powder for Russian rifles.

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X

THE CAUSES OF THE WAR

THREE charges have been made against Japan. She is said to have sought this war merely to test her military and naval equipment. As in ancient times a *samurai* might step into the street at night and slash unarmed men, merely to test a new sword, so New Japan has desired to test her new weapons. This, say some, is the real cause of the war. The mere denial of the assertion is surely sufficient.

Others claim that Japan has been cherishing dreams of Empire; that she has wished to bring Korea and Manchuria, and even China under her sway, reviving thus the plans made by Hideyoshi, three hundred years ago. More plausible than the last, this claim is, nevertheless, equally at fault. Empire for the sake of glory is the last consideration in the Japanese mind.

A charge more allied to fact yet essentially missing the truth is the following: Japan's population grows so fast that she is compelled to find new territory on which to expand. She has

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resorted to war, therefore, for the sake of seizing Korea and Manchuria and holding them as regions into which her surplus population may pour.

Beyond question Japan's people are multiplying rapidly. Although during the first three-quarters of the nineteenth century the population gained but 7,000,000, during the last quarter, owing to modern hygiene and medical skill, the gain has been 11,000,000, bringing the population up from 34,000,000 in 1875 to 45,000,000 in 1900. A natural question is, how has this vast increase of population been fed? This has been accomplished in part, though only in part, by extension in agriculture. Japan is so mountainous however, that but one-thirteenth of her surface is under cultivation. In largely increasing quantities she is therefore importing her food from Asia—especially from Korea and Manchuria. Within twenty years this trade has increased in value from next to nothing to $80,000,000 in 1903, representing more than half her entire imports. Her ever increasing dependence on the continent of Asia for food stuffs and raw material is a fact of grave importance, and without doubt it has its bearing on the causes of the war. But the assertion that Japan has gone into the

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war for the sake of seizing continental territory upon which her people may have room to expand is wholly aside from the facts.

The real causes of the war are three, one primary and two secondary, the latter exerting, nevertheless, a powerful influence. Ask any intelligent Japanese why they are fighting to-day and the answer will undoubtedly be:—"We are fighting for our national existences. We are also fighting for the permanent peace and welfare of the Far East and in behalf of honest international diplomacy."

Japan fights first and foremost for her right to exist as an independent nation. We in America faintly appreciate the gravity of the peril which threatens her by reason of Russian expansion.

Beginning in the sixteenth century and continuing through the eighteenth Russia gradually absorbed, by fighting and by intrigue the whole of Siberia from the Ural Mountains in the west to the Pacific Ocean on the east, an area of about 5,000,000 square miles, having a population to-day of about 6,000,000, Towards the middle of the nineteenth century she came into repeated small conflicts with Japan over the fisheries in the Okhotsk Sea which are now known as the most valuable in the world. In 1871 Russia suc-

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ceeded in driving Japan out of Saghalien, that large island which, by every consideration, should belong to Japan and which she had always counted as hers. A treaty was made to be sure, whereby the Kurile Islands were recognized by Russia as belonging to Japan; yet to this day there is constant friction and ill will, with frequent collision between the Japanese and Russians in those waters. The study of maps and of history will show that Saghalien belongs as naturally to Japan as do the Kurile Islands and Yezo. Dependent as Japan is and always must be on the products of the sea, she should own those shores for the sake of freely fishing in those waters. Recently after a storm, banks of dead fish from four to five feet deep were found along the coast. These are of inestimable value to Japan as a fertilizer, and with ground cultivated as hers has been for centuries, she can do nothing without fertilization. From every point of view, then, Russian possession of Saghalien has been a calamity to Japan.

Having possessed herself of Siberia, Russian expansion came to a temporary halt. Internal commotions and material domination of Siberia consumed her energies for a season.

In developing this territory, the trans-Siberian

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Railway was first conceived, then constructed with incalculable outlay of expense in men and money. Events have shown that the possession of large rights in China with its involved dominant influence in the Far East has been counted by Russian statesmen as a part of Russia's destiny. For its attainment, therefore, they have reckoned no expense too great.

When, then, at the close of Japan's conflict with China, Russia saw her prospects vanishing with Japan's proposal to retain Port Arthur and the Liaotung Peninsula, she held consultations with Germany and France in regard to the Far East, and jointly with these powers presented to Japan a peremptory demand that she strike out the clauses pertaining to Port Arthur. It has become evident since then that Russia herself had at the time projects involving that harbour with its splendid port and its tremendous possibilities as a fortress. "In the interest of the peace of the Orient," those military empires of Europe said, "we ask you to return Port Arthur to China," and to assure Japan of the insistence of their request and of the need for immediate acquiescence, they massed their fleets in the Gulf of Pechili, and cleared their decks for action, plainly intimating their purpose, should Japan re-

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fuse compliance. Had she declined to yield, the entire Japanese navy would have been sent to the bottom and Japan's helpless ports would have been bombarded. Japanese statesmen appreciated the situation, and replied, "In the interests of the peace of the Orient we accede to your request. We return Port Arthur to China." But the Japanese government made no report to the nation of that transaction. Indeed, the press was muzzled. All reference to the humiliation was forbidden. Those in authority knew too well the nature of the indignation which would have swept the nation had free information been given and free vent allowed to the sense of national outrage. In time, however, the facts did become known, and they have long since become public property. The knowledge of this humiliation and of the great material injury inflicted upon the nation has sunk deep into the national mind. Even at the time, as already mentioned, over one hundred officers and men who had fought to capture Port Arthur committed suicide. In doing this, they followed the ancient code of the *samurai*, thus putting on permanent record their sense of the indignity suffered by Japan. Better to die than to live insulted without possibility of redress.

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Within three years of the "retrocession of the Liaotung Peninsula," Russia, by insidious diplomacy and, as many say, with lavish gifts to corrupt Chinese officials, secured from China the coveted prize. Large concessions in connection with the railroad through Manchuria and a second fine port, Dalny, some twenty-five miles to the east of Port Arthur, were then acquired in rapid succession. Though leased to her for a period of only twenty-five years, Russia proceeded to fortify Port Arthur and to provide it with immense docks, dry docks and arsenals, as though it were to be a permanent possession. At Dalny, likewise, she expended millions of dollars in improvements, constructing a magnificent city completely equipped as a great commercial port. This was to be the terminus of her trans-Siberian railway and for all commercial purposes, while Port Arthur was to be the military and naval centre of her Oriental Empire.

The Boxer uprising in 1900 was a godsend to Russian plans. Taking advantage of the opportunity she poured thousands of troops into Manchuria, and soon had everything under fair control. When the Boxers were overthrown and the armies of other nations withdrew from China, Russia remained in Manchuria, at the same time

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increasing her forces there. Asked by other nations when she planned to withdraw, dates were named only to be ignored. Russian occupancy of Manchuria enabled her to negotiate treaties with China much to her liking. Among the more important was the arrangement that all enterprises in Manchuria should be exclusively given to Russian subjects.

Had Russia confined her greed to Manchuria, it is more than doubtful whether Japan would have felt compelled to interfere. But Russia had set her eyes on that tottering kingdom of Korea with its fine ports and its unmeasured potentialities for both peace and war. Intrigues began in the latter nineties; concessions on the Yalu were secured by Russian dukes; plans were laid for a Russian railroad through Korea to the southern port, Masampo. Negotiations were entered on for securing that splendid harbour, a harbour large enough to float the navies of the world and capable of such defensive works as to make it a second Port Arthur. The meaning of all this was plain. Russia meant to make Masampo a third military and naval centre for her Oriental Empire.

But Masampo is scarcely fifty miles from Japan. Powerful Russian fleets in Masampo, Port Arthur and Vladivostock could strike Japan

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by a few hours' sail any dark night. To protect herself from such a foe, so established, and so inscrupulous, Japan would need a fleet of enormous size and in constant readiness. That Russian ambition was limited to the possession of Manchuria and Korea few would be so foolish as to imagine. That she definitely planned to include Japan in the area of her rule, I do not affirm, but I do affirm that she proposed such control of Manchuria and Korea as completely to eliminate Japan as a political factor in the Far East. She planned such possession of all strategic points as to hold Japan entirely within her power and this in preparation for the last great step in her plans of Oriental Empire, the partition of China. She purposed to make Japan's word impotent and her influence nil when the moment came for the settlement of the destinies of China by the "Powers." "In the interests of the peace of the Far East" Russia was preparing to throttle Japan both by commercial supremacy and by brute force.

Japanese statesmen saw the danger clearly. In the spring of 1903 Russia definitely included Korea in her omnivorous plans. She sent her troops in citizens' clothing across the Yalu, and began to build barracks and forts on Korean soil. Japanese statesmen recognized the gravity of the

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situation at once, and opened diplomatic correspondence with St. Petersburg. Japan stated her needs with precision, and no one can question the moderation and justice of the request which she made.

Her proposal was couched in a note with six clauses, of which the first and second are the vital ones and read as follows:

1. A mutual engagement to respect the independence and territorial integrity of the Chinese and Korean Empires and to maintain the principle of equal opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations in those countries.

2. A reciprocal recognition of Japan's preponderating interests in Korea and Russia's special interests in Manchuria and of the right of Japan to take in Korea and of Russia to take in Manchuria, such measures as may be necessary for the protection of their respective interests as above defined, subject however, to the provisions of Article 1.

In a word, Japan asked Russia to recognize the territorial integrity of the oriental empires, the principle of the "open door" and the preponderating interests of Japan in Korea even as she herself was ready to recognize those of Rus-

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sia in Manchuria. How moderate and how fair! Not a word about Port Arthur and its tremendous fortifications, and no reference to the treachery of the previous decade.

What reply did Russia make? After eight weeks of delay, a reply was given in Tokyo. It proposed:—

1. Mutual engagement to respect the independence and territorial integrity of Korea.
2. Recognition by Russia of Japan's preponderating interests in Korea, and the right of Japan to give advice and assistance to Korea tending to improve the civil administration of the Empire without infringing the stipulations of Article 1.
3. Engagement on the part of Russia not to impede the commercial and industrial undertakings of Japan in Korea.
4. Mutual engagement not to use any part of Korea for strategical purposes.
5. Provisions for a neutral zone in Korea.
6. Recognition by Japan of Manchuria and its litoral as in all respects outside her sphere of interest.

Not a word here in regard to the integrity of Chinese territory, the "open door" in Manchuria, or Japan's commercial interests there, though at the same time implying that Japan should have no influence on Korean military matters (cf. section 2).

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Diplomatic correspondence was carried on for months (July to February), Russian replies being made with exasperating delay. Throughout the diplomatic contest neither side showed the slightest disposition to yield a point. Russia was willing neither to recognize Japan's rights in Manchuria nor to guarantee the integrity of China. Japan was unwilling to grant Russia's demands. During those months, reports were continually sent to the world through Berlin, Paris, Vienna and London that the negotiations were progressing well; and that peace would surely be the issue. But at the same time, tens of thousands of Russian troops were rushed to the front; while ships and stores and large amounts of coal and ammunition were hurried over land and sea to Port Arthur and Vladivostock. Indeed, during the eight months preceding the outbreak of war, Russia sent to the Far East over 40,000 troops and nineteen vessels of various descriptions aggregating 82,000 tons, which with the vessels already in the east, gave her a navy of 174,000 tons with forty torpedo destroyers, while Japan's navy aggregated 272,000 tons with sixty-five torpedo destroyers. In addition to these "peace" preparations, Russia ordered to the front an additional fleet aggregating

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30,000 tons. This was on the way thither when war broke out. Although Japan did not break off diplomatic relations until the 6th of February nor fire the first gun until February 8, 1904, on the 21st of January, two battalions of infantry were sent from Port Arthur to the Yalu, and on the 28th Admiral Alexif gave orders to all the forces there to prepare for war. On February 1st, all Japanese were requested to leave Vladivostock in view of the danger of war. Evidently Russia planned, by her warlike preparations, to overawe Japan. She did not dream that so small and ignorant and incompetent a country, as she supposed Japan to be, would dare draw sword against one so large, so strong and well prepared as she had persuaded the world to believe that she herself was. Russian expansion through disingenuous treaties, by bluff and sometimes by force since 1895, was well known throughout Japan. Local papers reported in detail every move. The failure of Japan's diplomatic correspondence with St. Petersburg was also widely known to the people, though of course the documents were not made public until after war had been declared. The nation understood the situation. It was convinced that national existence was at stake

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and that now was the time to save herself. Let Russia once entrench herself in Masampo, as she had already done in Port Arthur and Manchuria, and not only China's future but that of Japan as well, would be in the hollow of Russia's hand. As to what that would ultimately signify, the daily press in Japan had no question; for tales of Poland and Finland had been widely told.

For a detailed statement of the diplomatic relations leading to the war, no more careful or impartial statement can probably be found than Mr. Asakawa's important work entitled "The Russo-Japanese Conflict."

The direct cause of the war, then, has been Russia's ambition for Oriental Empire, bearing down in its progress Manchuria, Korea, and ultimately Japan herself. This process of Russian expansion has been steadfastly pushed, and ruthlessly. It has brought such overwhelming destruction to innocent people in Siberia and Manchuria; it has heaped such insult and such humiliation upon Japan herself and it is so powerful in crushing the national life of a conquered people, that the determination of Japan to save herself from their fate has thrilled the world into sympathy.

Two minor causes contributing to this war

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have been Japan's wholly altruistic motive of good-will to Korea and to China and her desire to stand for honest straightforward diplomacy. A later chapter will consider what Russian victory would signify in the Orient. To avert that disaster, Japan was ready to fight. For the Japanese are at heart a grateful people. They realize that they have learned of China. She has been their teacher and now, like true disciples, they are ready to defend her from threatening destruction. To maintain the integrity of China, Japan is willing to fight. Whether she would have waged this war merely in defense of her honour is an academic question which we need not consider, but it is fair to say that no country today is so sensitive to considerations of honour as is Japan. She has been brought to the war by the stern necessities of life. She has been insulted and humiliated before the world, robbed of her rights, her existence as a nation imperilled. Her honest diplomacy has been neglected, disregarded and evaded. Deceitful, time-consuming responses were given to her; and when she could endure no more, self-respect and self-preservation both demanded that she smite the lying tongue and strike the rapacious disturber of the peace of the

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Orient,—the disturber who claimed to carry to the heathen the religion of the Christ.

The white peril as embodied in Russia assumes its worst form for it adds hypocrisy to aggressive greed, and cloaks its crimes with the very religion which condemns them.

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XI

THE REAL MEANING OF THE WAR

In conversation the other day, a friend said: "While of course Russian victory would mean great loss to Japan, in the long run would it not be better for the Far East as a whole that Russia prevail, hastening thus the partition of China, the destruction of her anti-foreign conservatism, and the development of those vast sources of natural wealth which would follow the white man's possession and rule of China?"

Even among the well-wishers of Japan there are those who, while hoping that for her own sake she may win, still feel that Russian victory is more likely to result in blessings for China. Such views reveal an astonishing ignorance alike of Japan and of Russia, of what the two countries respectively stand for, and of their mental attitude towards other races. The real meaning of the war cannot be adequately appreciated until these differences have been studied carefully.

If, as many assert, Japan is at heart unredeemedly oriental and if her occidental civilization is a

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mere veneer, which may be discarded in a moment, then indeed victory for Japan might be an ominous event. It might be the occasion for elation, self-gratulation and an anti-foreign reaction. Japan's leadership in China might then be utilized for uniting orient against occident, and the result might prove to be the so-called yellow peril.

But if, as has been contended in an earlier chapter and in my "Evolution of the Japanese," Japan's recent development is real, if occidental civilization has struck deep roots into Japan's entire national life, if the new social order is begetting a new psychic life, then the beneficial results to the Far East of Japanese victory can hardly be exaggerated. As already indicated Japan stands for the essentials of Anglo-Saxon civilization. She emphasizes the inherent value and rights of the individual, his freedom of travel, of occupation, of intellectual and religious belief, of universal education and of representative government. In addition Japan stands for the modern scientific world-view, which she teaches in all her schools. This means gradual emancipation from all forms of superstition. It means also that the latest results of man's best knowledge are to be applied to promoting his welfare.

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Japan stands also for free industrial and commercial intercourse, for the so-called "open door." And finally, she stands for the territorial integrity of China, for giving her free opportunity to appropriate western modes of thought and freedom to direct the rate of the development of her natural resources.

What now does victory for Japan mean? It means first of all the thwarting, for a season at least, of Russia's dreams of Oriental Empire. And by the time these dreams revive, China may be able to assist in their permanent destruction. Japanese victory means a notice served on Germany and France that no interference with China will be tolerated. To China it means opportunity for self-directed development along modern paths, a tedious journey for so huge a nation, yet one which must be travelled freely if it is to be substantial. Japan's rapid development has been valuable because so completely self-directed. Facts already given as to Chinese students in Japan and Japanese teachers in China, show that Japan has, since the Chino-Japanese war, acquired great influence in China. Victory now signifies a tenfold, a hundredfold increase of that influence, and such power means the wide establishment in China of occidental learn-

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ing and in due time its application by the Chinese themselves to industrial and commercial expansion, especially to the development of her vast natural wealth. This in turn will mean increasing wealth for China, and corresponding ability for self-development.

Japanese influence in that country also means freedom of religious belief and opportunity for unimpeded Christian work. Japan has learned that the propaganda of non-political Christianity is wholly beneficial, making immoral citizens, moral; dishonest ones, honest. The sociological importance to China of free and pure Christian propaganda is completely ignored by the average student of oriental affairs. But beyond dispute is it that no more potent though silent influence is exerted in that land for the removal of race misunderstandings and prejudices and for the upbuilding of an era of good-will between the white man and the yellow than that exerted by Protestant missions. Japan is profoundly friendly to Protestant missionaries and looks upon them as powerful social forces for good.

As opposed to all this, what would result from Russian victory? I shudder even in its contemplation. First and foremost would come the destruction of Japan, for she will fight until she

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spends every dollar and loses every man. Should Russia attempt to land troops on her shores, even the women and the children would share in the conflict and the carnage. Russian victory in Japan would mean the virtual extermination of the people, for Japan is unconquerable. She might be destroyed by superior might. But the conquerors would enter a desolate land. The Japanese themselves would have been wiped out.

Russian victory would also mean complete control of Manchuria and Korea, with, probably, their virtual annexation to the Russian Empire by right of conquest. Thus established, in due season, Russia could execute her plans of appropriating a fair share of China. With Japan overthrown, no western land would venture to interrupt by force Russia's plans for oriental empire. This means the military partition of China between Russia, Germany, France and England. "But what harm in this," some may ask. The harm depends of course on what these countries are and stand for.

Manifestly Russia represents absolute imperialism. The rights and needs, the growth and welfare of the individual man are not in her thought. Selfish, political, commercial and in-

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dustrial empire is the aim of her rulers. In their view it is right that the yellow man should toil for the white man. The development of the natural wealth in mine and mountain, the creation and possession of great monopolies of trade, of railroads, banks, and factories, all shall be in the white man's hands and contribute to the white man's wealth. Popular education, political power, freedom of travel, and speech, of thought, belief and religion for subject peoples, are more than passively ignored, they are positively denied to conquered peoples. Russian rule crushes local states and degrades the masses, the more effectually to secure undisputed power and wealth.

Russian victory means, moreover, the exclusion of western nations, not only from trade in Russian realms, but also from every form of influence. Christian missions and education are forbiden by Russian officials. They tamper with the mail, exclude obnoxious publications, and in every way exert themselves to keep the masses in abject and stupid ignorance. Even during their brief stay in Manchuria, Russian generals interfered with long established missionary work.

True of Russia, the above charges are in a degree true, also, of France and Germany. They

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too in their foreign colonies and in their rule of dependent races rely primarily on military strength.

England alone stands for relatively fair and just treatment of subject races. She does not exclude elevating influences; instead she encourages them. But even English rule, benign and just though it is, signifies enrichment of the white at the expense of the yellow man. It means the control of wealth by aliens and not by natives; and this results in diversion to foreign lands of wealth which should go to the betterment of the native population.

This consideration throws ominous light on the plans of European powers for China. Unless China can in some way retain the rights to her own natural resources, as Japan has done, the white peril to her industries and commerce will prove to be a peril of tremendous proportions. For her own future development China should retain possession of her natural wealth. When she awakens and begins to build her cities and her empire on a scale commensurate with her people, the wealth of her mountains and her mines will be needed. But if these are the permanent possession of foreign capitalists, the wealth which should have gone to make her

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great, intelligent and happy will be perpetually drained from the country. This aspect of the white peril in the Far East receives scant consideration from aggressive white men.

Russian victory then would be a dark omen for Eastern Asia. That Japanese evangelist was right when he compared this to the Greco-Persian War. Fancy conditions in Europe to-day, had Greece been overrun and destroyed by Persian hordes. Without Grecian influence could our modern civilization have arisen? Philosophy and art, ethics, logic, science and mathematics, all had their rise in Greece, and no race has independently produced them. Had Persia prevailed, the subsequent 2,500 years of European history would have been radically different. Similarly, on the victory of Russia or Japan turns the history of Eastern Asia for a thousand years to come. This, however, is not all. The future history of Russia, Germany, France, and England also turns on the rôle they play in the Far East. Military possessions and necessities there will develop for these countries a different history from what would otherwise be natural to them. Thus is it clear that the Russo-Japanese war brings a crisis in the history of the world. We are all more or less closely involved.

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In summarizing we find that the real meaning of the war is this:—Has the white man's aggressive policy in the Far East come to an end? Is the yellow man to have a fair chance to enter into the world's best life and progress? or is he to be crushed by the white man, and compelled to serve him as the hewer of wood, and the drawer of water? Is the normal development of the yellow man to suffer permanent arrest under the grinding heel of the white man? Involving as it does not only the direct welfare of a quarter of the earth's population, but also, indirectly, all the nations of the earth, these are questions of great importance. The Russo-Japanese war involves world relations. Let the world therefore have a thought for what it signifies.

This view of the meaning of the war I owe, in part at least, to my Japanese friends. It has been preached in the pulpit and proclaimed in lecture halls. Count Katsura, Prime Minister of Japan, in a message to the missionaries in May, 1904, made use of the following significant words:—

"The object of the present war, on the part of Japan, is the security of the empire and the permanent peace of the East. That such a war is necessary is plain. No one can look at the map and recall the course of Russia without seeing

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that that course is an imminent peril to Japan; and that the peril must be met without delay. No less clear is it that Russia is, and, if allowed to be, will continue to be, the great disturber of the peace of the East; and that there can be no permanent peace until she is put in bonds which she cannot break. Regarding this also there can be no delay. Therefore I say that the object of the war is the security of the empire and the permanent peace of the East. To this I may add that the situation is not a new one. The position of Japan is analogous to that of ancient Greece in her contest with Persia, a contest for the security of Greece and the permanent peace of Europe. Japan is Greece and Russia is Persia.

"But while I say that the object of the war is the security of the peace of the Empire and the permanent peace of the East, I say also and with equal emphasis, that the war is not a war for the supremacy of race over race or religion over religion. With differences of race or religion it has nothing to do; and it is carried on in the interests of justice, humanity, and the commerce and civilization of the world. In saying this I am not speaking as an individual only; I am speaking as Prime Minister also; and more than that I am expressing the mind of His Majesty the Emperor."

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XII

THE YELLOW PERIL *vs.* THE WHITE PERIL

EUROPEAN diplomats have made us familiar with the "yellow peril," as a future contingency. But is it not strange that we have so completely overlooked the great and scourging reality of today, the white peril? We talk about the possibility of Japan's arming and leading the yellow race in a conflict with the white, and we shudder over the woes which might come to us, should she do this. But do we consider the actual woes which the white man is today inflicting on the yellow man by his presence and by his methods, by his armies and his commerce? Through his seizure of important posts in eastern Asia, the white man has given notice to the yellow that he must be obedient to the white man's will. France in Tonquin, England in Hongkong and Weihaiwei, Germany in Kiaochao and Russia in Port Arthur and Manchuria, suggest the story of the white man's military aggressions on the yellow man's domain.

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Repeated armed conflicts with China during the past seventy-five years have resulted in the pushing of white troops to the capital itself and have led to the destruction of large parts of their most valued treasures and buildings. Repeatedly has the white man proved his military might and China has been forced to the acceptance of wholly unsatisfactory treaties, merely on the strength of this might. Even at the time some of these treaty stipulations were manifestly an outrage and they have proved to be disastrous to the welfare of China's millions. A conspicuous instance of this was the so called opium war. England's opium trade with China today is but one form of the white peril. In Europe or America what people would view with indifference such treatment of its territory and its capital by an alien race as has been inflicted on China by the white man? And the danger to China is not past. It is but now reaching its culmination. For are not the nations of Europe definitely planning the division of China among themselves? What that would signify has already been considered. If the conclusions reached are true, are we not justified in calling the white man's presence in the Far East the "white peril"? This, indeed, is the scourge of today. The white peril

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is the cause of the present war. The "peace of the Far East," about which European diplomats have loved to talk, is not their real aim. They themselves are the cause of the turmoil and of the ruin, wrought by war at Port Arthur, and on the plains of Manchuria.

The white peril is not, however, exclusively political or military. These are but the means to an end, for the white peril in the Far East is also commercial and industrial. It threatens to destroy long established tradal relations, to bring poverty to millions of workers and to divert oriental wealth to occidental coffers. In China, the white man seeks to introduce methods of business, utterly subversive of the established order and repugnant to the people; and the Chinaman views the innovations with alarm. The established means of livelihood for millions, suddenly removed, involves appalling economic problems. Such for instance is the significance of the introduction of railroads.

The white peril reaches even further. In the administration of justice the white man's influence, political and financial, is often more effective than right and truth.

Still further, the presence of the white man in the Far East has been distinctly destructive of

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morality. We count the oriental immoral, but do we realize that we have helped to make him so? The Orient and especially Japan has been debauched by white men. The menace of his presence to the higher and nobler development of the East can hardly be realized by one who has not lived there and sought the uplift of the people. The most serious hindrance to Christian work is the immoral life and selfish spirit so universally exhibited by white men in those lands.

In view of these facts, is it strange that the Chinese are alarmed at the growing power and presence of the white man in his country? The significance of the Boxer outbreak was virtually this. Railroads with mining and territorial concessions to white men had followed in quick succession, naturally increasing anti-foreign fear. Famine and economic disturbance gave force to fear and discontent. The solution of the white peril most plausible to the Chinaman is white expulsion—a method not untried in America and Australia as a solution for the Mongolian peril.

Is there then no yellow peril? Yes, assuredly, but not such as diplomats fear or magazines describe. The yellow peril is a correlate to the white peril. Let the present trend of things go

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on unchecked; let the partition of China take place; let the white man seize the reins of authority in all the principal posts in China; let him develop railroads, banks, mines and factories; let him take the proceeds of his enterprises to his native lands; let him carry on all these enterprises with the selfish zeal, and insolent manner now common to the white man in the East, disdaining the coolie, compelling him by brute force to do his will, regarding him as a tool, a beast, disregarding his interests and his rights as a man; then will arise a yellow peril indeed. The white man's treatment of the yellow man will in time beget such feelings of indignation and hatred towards all white men that when some great economic crisis comes, as come it must, the yellow man will arise. He will destroy the white man's banks, railroads, factories and all his enterprises and drive him with curses and bloodshed from his land. The attempt of the white race to reduce the yellow race to a position of political subordination and of economic slavery will beget economic evils beyond the white man's control.

On the other hand, the white man's utilitarian "businesslike" methods and haughty spirit will beget a corresponding spirit of hatred; and when

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these two forces meet, the economic and the spiritual, the real yellow peril to the white man will begin. The Boxer disturbances will be as nothing compared to the evils and the bloodshed of those days. For when China moves, fifty or a hundred or two hundred years hence, to throw off the incubus of a long established tyrannical white peril, she will be intelligent and equipped with modern weapons. And with her countless millions she will overwhelm the white man by the torrent of her hatred. These forebodings may seem unjustified by the facts. But those who have not lived in the Orient can have no idea of the personal attitude and conduct of the average white man towards the Asiatic. Neither can he understand the feelings of the insulted Asiatic towards the white man himself. In emphasis of this personal attitude are the following illustrations:—

As our steamer lay in Hongkong one winter's day in 1887, a group of Chinese coolies came aboard for work. I was watching them carelessly, when I heard an Englishman issue some order. One coolie evidently failed to understand. He turned towards the officer and looked him squarely in the face evidently expecting a repetition of the command. Instead of that the

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burly Englishman struck the coolie in the face with his fist, felling him to the deck. That was my first initiation to the white man's method of ruling the Asiatic.

At Singapore a large number of Chinese came aboard—bound for Canton. As the accommodations of the Asiatic steerage were insufficient, a hundred or more were placed on the open deck and kept there for six days, without protection from the weather, although a severe storm passed over us. The officers treated the Chinamen as they might have treated cattle. And this treatment is not confined to the Chinese. Landing in Yokohama a friend of mine took a jinrikisha and was riding quietly along when an Englishman in a dog-cart came up from behind. Swinging his long whip he lashed the jinrikisha man around the neck thereby raising a great red welt. He then drove on in lordly indifference.

Two Englishmen are reported to have been discussing the pros and cons of kicking their "boys"—Chinese domestics; and it appeared in the course of the conversation that one of those "boys" had died from the result of a kick. On last sailing from Yokohama I was the mortified spectator of a scuffle between an American first-class passenger and a jinrikisha runner. The

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white man had taken his ride without making a bargain and had paid the runner five cents. The latter demanded ten. Although the tariff board was plainly printed in English, this self-confident young American was unwilling to conform to its requirements. He preferred to impose on the runner and to have a scuffle.

In a recent article on "The Moral Causes of the Russo-Japanese War," the Chinese writer, explaining what he meant by the word heathen, cited the case of an American sea-captain who shot a Chinaman through the back, nearly killing him. In compensation the captain paid his victim twenty dollars. The American Consul at Foochow swore at the captain and called him a fool for giving so much, adding, "Why, it is only a Chinaman."

Incidents of this nature might be indefinitely multiplied. In all the treaty ports of Japan and China, the stories of the relations of the white man to the yellow are sickening and disheartening. The white man relying on the force of his fists and his guns, stirs the Asiatic into fierce desire for revenge. So far as the governmental relations of East and West are concerned, they are of course, always presented in perfect diplomatic form. Yet this can never counterbalance

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the personal indignation involved in personal affront and wrong suffered at the hands of white men. Unless in some way this problem of the white man's treatment of the Asiatic be solved, the day of retribution will surely come, the day of the yellow peril.

What then is the solution of the white peril? What shall induce the white man to treat the yellow man with justice and civility?

Japanese victory in the present war will have weight. Those white men whose supreme ideal is might, will be inspired with respect for the Japanese, and respect modifies conduct. Japanese victory will also tend to restrain the white peril in its particularly aggressive form to-day. Immediate danger of the partition of China with all its consequences will be delayed, perhaps even averted. If this danger can be permanently averted, both the white peril and the yellow will cease to threaten the Orient. In the line of what may seem to be a Quixotic suggestion, I shall venture to propose that the governments of America and England issue orders that their own people treat the Asiatic with courtesy and consideration. Their governments might well draw the attention of sea captains, officers and sailors, as also of all military men sent to the Far East, to

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the need of observing oriental customs of courtesy. Ministers, consuls, and consular courts in those lands might well exercise their powers to inspire among their countrymen the importance of courtesy and fair treatment. The actions of many a man might be modified did he know that insolent treatment of Asiatics by white men was formally discountenanced and condemned by his own government and was a matter of observance by state officials. But the ultimate solution can only come through belief on the part of the white race in the essential equality of worth and rights for all men. We must really believe in the brotherhood of man. We must practice the same high standards of conduct in our relations with Japanese and Chinese as we practice in our relations with Englishmen, Germans and Frenchmen. Europe must cease to regard Asia as a field for legitimate military and commercial expansion, regardless of the wishes and the development of the peoples of those lands. In other words, the white race must abandon its cherished conviction of essential racial superiority and of its inherent right to dominate the earth, and to subordinate all coloured races to its own economic interests. So long as this conviction is held as

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an ideal, so long is the white race to continue a peril to the peace and welfare of the earth.

It is sometimes said that Japan's victory spells the immediate rise of the yellow peril. She will reorganize China's military power; and raising her to the standard of her own efficient financial, educational and governmental attainments, will make those four hundred million people invincible. And then combined, China and Japan will exploit the world. Victorious Japan, they say, means bumptious Japan, swaggering Japan, Japan with a "big head." All of which would signify discomfort and immediate danger to America and Europe. This in truth is the yellow peril feared by some. What of these fears and charges?

In the first place, if might makes right for the white man, why not for the yellow man? If Japan and China have the might, why should they not swagger and burn and kill and rule? We who are white have had the "big head" badly for several centuries. Surely turn about would be but fair play.

After all, however, such fears reveal the deepest ignorance in regard to both China and Japan. Prolonged experience in Japan, acquaintance with large numbers of its middle class, study of

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the way in which they have been growing, knowledge of their ideals and of the motives that control their lives, all these make it impossible for one who has lived in Japan as a student, to find grounds for such fears and expectations. The leading statesmen there know her financial, political and civilizational status in the world. They know, too, the evil that would result from a race war—East against the West. So far from seeking it, they would try in every way to avert it. No government or people would more heartily oppose such a conflict than Japan. They know, too, the sources of their own present power, life and improvement, and they realize that their continued prosperity closely depends on continued intimate relations with the whole world. Nor are they without deep sentiments of gratitude to America and England for the fair and even kindly treatment accorded to her by these lands.

When Russia appealed to the world for sympathy on the ground that she was fighting the white man's battles and that she, the Christian, was fighting a heathen nation, Japan was stung to the quick. She waited with eagerness to learn whether this appeal to race and religious prejudice would gain the sympathy of the West

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for Russia. And it was with intense relief that she learned that the common people of America and England had refused the appeal. The subsequent wide expression of high approval by Americans and Englishmen alike has turned Japanese thought from the racial and religious prejudices which might so easily have been roused. It has done much to bind the Japanese nation in close fellowship with the West, thereby helping to avert the yellow peril.

Suppose for a moment that, because of colour and religious kinship, American and English sympathy had been with Russia. Suppose also that missionaries and merchants had universally sided with Russia and that Japan, without political friendship or occidental sympathy had faced Russian aggression. Would she not have followed our lead in counting the war one of race and religion, thus deepening the chasm that separates East and West? And in the event of this separation, would not Japan have felt that safety for her lay in complete spiritual and material identification of herself with the interests of the Orient as opposed to those of the Occident? Such identification would have insured the yellow peril. American and English sympathy accorded regardless of race and re-

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ligion has knit Japan to the West in ways that will be permanent. When the war is over and Japan takes her lead in the Far East, we need not fear lest she show an unbecoming tendency to boast. The cultured instincts of the Japanese are far too fine to admit of anything so out of taste as that.

She will not brag, neither will she seek to exploit the white man. She will make no impossible demands but rather will she serve as mediator between the white and yellow races, striving for their common good.

Although, in this work emphasis has been laid on the perils to the Far East of the white man's presence, spirit and method, justice demands some qualification of certain emphatic assertions. Though sailors, soldiers, merchants and business agents manifest as a rule an aggressive spirit, they do not constitute the entire body of white men in the East. Nor in important respects do they fairly represent the spirit of the nations from which they come. It is a strange fact, true though strange, that, with honourable exceptions, the white resident in the East leaves at home his ethical standards and his principles of courteous conduct to all men. Accepting the familiar saying, "When in Rome do as the

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Romans do," he falls in with the local customs of immoral and discourteous white men in their relations with Asiatics, a morality and a discourtesy wholly obnoxious to the better standards prevalent at home.

In contrast to the classes named above are others which include government employees, school-teachers and missionaries. Charges against these of discourteous conduct are seldom heard, while the family life of Christian teachers, missionaries, merchantmen and others has convinced Japan and will ultimately convince China of a purity in the home of the white man in his own land, unsuspected from the life of the non-Christian man in the Orient and far superior to that of the Oriental himself. The purpose of this volume forbids emphasis on the value to the Far East of the presence in the Orient of Christian men and women. They form, however, the white blessing as opposed to the white peril. In writing on this subject, I have forgotten neither the better sentiment at home which condemns insolent aggression and immorality, nor the representatives of this sentiment residing in the East who alone redeem the white man from the condemnation which is meted out to him by the Asiatic. While proper

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emphasis would demand expansion of this point, this word of explanation should prevent the reader from falling into serious misunderstandings.

Another matter demanding more emphasis than the purpose of this volume allows is the value to the Far East of Christian missions. There are those who on insufficient experience proclaim an absolute chasm between the minds and hearts of the East and the West. It can neither be fathomed nor bridged, they insist. In the religion of Jesus, however, with its transformation of character, with its living faith in a personal God, and with its practical acceptance of the brotherhood of man, the chasm of race differences is abolished, as a fact of experience. One God, one Father, one Christ, one hope, one Kingdom, one spirit of service. Made one in all these deeper things of the spirit, our differences of race, colour, social rank, customs, clothing, education, sink into insignificance. The value of Christian missions in destroying race pride, in begetting mutual esteem, in evoking mutual trust, and in producing unity of thought and feeling in regard to the deepest human problems of time and eternity, can scarcely be over-stated. In this unity lies the only hope for the permanent peace of the world.

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XIII

THE PERMANENT PEACE OF THE ORIENT —A SUGGESTION

In discussing oriental problems with Japanese friends, I have been assured repeatedly that the present conflict is likely to prove but the beginning of the armed struggle between Japan and Russia. The conviction seems to be that immediately on the conclusion of the present war, both countries will prepare for another, because Russia will not and cannot accept permanent defeat at the hands of Japan whom she scorns.

Russia's possession of Siberia almost insures repeated effort to dominate both Manchuria and Korea. Indeed, her method of government and of expansion would seem to necessitate her possession of these countries. Intelligent Japanese hope that the evil day will be delayed until China's attainment of modern development will enable her to unite with Japan in the next contest with Russia. But how long will this take? Japan has required nearly fifty years, and this

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despite the fact of her small territory, her compact, homogeneous and patriotic people, her paternal government and her devoutly loved Imperial House. Yet these have all contributed to celerity and unity of movement. With her utmost speed, can China accomplish as much in the same length of time? and how long will Russia require to fit herself for a second war? Before it begins will she not by diplomacy isolate Japan, fighting her again single-handed? What hope for Japan then?

Furthermore, are Germany and France likely to sit in idleness meantime, and allow the plums of oriental commerce to be largely harvested by Japan? Will they not invent some pretext for territorial and commercial expansion? Recall for example the action of Germany in 1897. Two of her Catholic missionaries had been murdered, and the outcome of it was that she sent a powerful fleet to China bearing the "Gospel of the Mailed Fist." She virtually seized Kiaochao with two hundred square miles of adjacent territory and secured, by a friendly treaty of course, exclusive commercial, mining and railroad privileges for herself in the entire province of Shantung. This is an admirable illustration of the possible methods of western aggression. Verily

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the clouds of war hang low when such injustice is practiced by one white nation and allowed by the others. The white peril thus growing bids fair to breed the yellow peril.

Is there then no alternative? Must the appeal to brute force continue? Must human destruction be the only outcome of the meeting of the races?

There are those who anticipate changes and reform in Russia herself, reforms which will insure peace for the orient. The people of Russia, say they, will not allow a second war with Japan. I must confess to great scepticism as to internal reforms in Russia, such as shall, in any material way, modify her oriental diplomacy. Russia is not a democracy and cannot become one in a day or a century. Be the reforms what they may, the Russian people are not likely to direct her foreign policy or her diplomacy. Russian rulers are determined to consolidate the empire in order to make it effective and productive; and this necessity must sooner or later drive them to renewed efforts to possess Manchuria and Korea. But that possession Japan can never allow. Her very existence will thereby be threatened. Herein lies the tragedy; for both nations will increasingly feel the need of complete control of those countries.

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Is there then no alternative, no solution but that of repeated war? In addition to the suggestions of China's rapid development and Russian internal reforms as likely to remove the danger of future conflicts, two others deserve attention. The first proposes that Manchuria and Korea be internationally guaranteed as independent states, maintaining their existence not by their own military power but exclusively by the common will of the world-powers. Switzerland, Belgium and Holland were thus established and have been maintained by international consent, as "buffer states," and the peace of Europe has been due largely to this arrangement. Attractive and promising though this plan may appear, it can hardly be counted feasible; for, to succeed, Manchuria and Korea must, themselves, be governed in accord with occidental methods. The people of those countries are, however, utterly unable to establish these methods, or even to maintain them were they established from without.

Joint European governmental control would be unworkable for reasons too numerous to mention and control by a single power with a governor or king supported by an army of foreigners virtually abandons the principle of the independent buffer state. Moreover, Russian opposition

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to such a plan would be so bitter as effectually to prevent its adoption except under military coercion. For these reasons, this form of the "buffer state" proposition seems to me untenable. So long as Russia holds Eastern Siberia, Korea must be subject either to Japan or to Russia, and Manchuria must be ruled either by China or by Russia.

A further suggestion is now made as a possible alternative. It has been discussed at length with the Japanese themselves, and has invariably met with approval. American friends, however, tell me that the plan is visionary; that it demands too high a type of altruism. Now the solution of any difficult problem depends on the source from which the difficulty comes. In the present case the source is Russian, German and French commercial and territorial ambitions, with the methods involved in carrying out these ambitions. So long as Russia possesses Eastern Siberia, so long must she, as already shown, look with covetous eyes towards Manchuria and Korea, and not until she controls those lands and also a large part of China will her ambitions be satisfied. This is the source of the difficulty and it points the way to its solution.

In presenting this plan to the Japanese, I have frequently stated the case as follows:

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Why be content with merely driving Russia from Manchuria? That will prove but a temporary expedient. A permanent settlement can only be secured through the expulsion of Russia from the entire Far East. So long as she retains Vladivostock and Eastern Siberia, she will lie along the northern boundary of China, and with Japan's return of Manchuria to China, and the withdrawal of her troops, Russia will promptly return to her methods of diplomatic duplicity. Will she fail to find Chinese officials ready for suitable reward, to do her bidding? Within ten or twenty years, will not Russia regain in Manchuria by diplomacy, what she has lost by war? And after that, unless again driven out by force, what question but that she will reintrench herself more firmly than before?

In the meantime, can Japan so recuperate from the present struggle, and so reinforce herself as to make it wise for her to wage a second war with Russia?

Furthermore, will Russia let Korea severely alone? Will not her emissaries be there stirring up disaffection and opposing Japan's reform program, promising glowing things if Korea will but break from Japanese leadership and accept Russian help and sovereignty? Whether, in

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spite of Russian intrigues, Japan will be able to carry Korea successfully through the period of inevitable turmoil, involved in the needed internal reforms and international relations, is an open question. It would not be strange were this ancient and corrupt weakling to weary of Japanese tutelage. And, seduced by specious promises she might naturally turn to Russian troops for relief from her strenuous teacher. In a word, Russian possession of Eastern Siberia is a standing menace to the peace of the East. Now is the time to settle the question. European military coercion of Russia in behalf of the peace of the orient is not to be expected. Japan must coerce Russia herself. She must fight and she must conquer and the treaty of peace must require of Russia the surrender of all Siberia east of Lake Baikal.

Thus far my Japanese friends have agreed with me; but here they enter their first dissent. "While all you say is true," they answer, "could Japan expect to hold Eastern Siberia permanently against Russian intrigue and attack? Your solution is insufficient," they add, "because Japan has not the power after pushing Russia back, to hold her there. With full preparation for a second war Russia would surely conquer.

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Our possession of Eastern Siberia would indeed be the very occasion for early renewal of the Russo-Japanese conflict. No, your plan is not possible. We must inflict on Russia at the present time the least possible territorial loss and national humiliation with the hope that the renewal of the struggle will be the longer deferred. And in any case, after this exhausting war we shall have neither the time, the strength, nor the means to undertake the government of that vast country."

But here I in turn have insisted that my full proposal has not yet been heard. Were it limited to Japanese seizure and possession of Eastern Siberia, it would indeed be impracticable. The essential feature of my suggestion is, however, that immediately after making peace with Russia, Japan promptly arrange for the sale of Eastern Siberia to some powerful nation. Thus would the ends desired be attained. Japan's financial strain would at once be lessened and at the same time, she would enter a new period of national prosperity, unhampered by overwhelming war taxes.

With a power friendly to Japan in possession of Eastern Siberia, Russian reoccupation would be impossible, and with it her exploitation of

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Manchuria, Korea and China would necessarily cease.

Notice would also be effectively served on Germany and France that no partition of China would be tolerated. It should be borne in mind that, save for Russian troops and exiles, Siberia is, practically an uninhabited country. With peace assured and the imminent white peril averted, the entire Far East would begin to believe and trust the white man, a belief and a trust essential to the permanent peace of the world. The races of the orient and especially China would then enter on a course of healthy because normal development, increasingly appreciative of modern conditions with corresponding appropriation of modern methods of life and thought.

But the question will be asked, "What country is sufficiently trusted by Japan and also sufficiently powerful to enter on such a plan as this?" My reply would be, "Do not England and the United States of America fulfill the requirements?" Let them jointly pay for and own Eastern Siberia, provide it with government under joint commission, administer it as an international trust until it is able to govern itself and finally establish it as an independent state. This would be

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a buffer state with independence permanently guaranteed by America and England. An offensive and defensive treaty could be made with Japan whereby in case of Russian aggression these three countries could act in unison. Since in case of war America and England could reach Russia directly, it would be unnecessary for them to maintain large bodies of troops in Eastern Siberia. Under such conditions it is not probable that Russia would again disturb the peace of the Far East.

A serious question, however, is as to whether either America or England would consent to pay the sum required, whether these countries are sufficiently altruistic to champion the cause of the orient. On this point I confess to doubts myself. I fear lest there be too many little Englanders and anti-imperialistic Americans to allow such magnificent altruism. A full consideration of this suggestion would demand a study of the agricultural possibilities of eastern Siberia, her mineral and other natural resources, and of the probability as to whether so cold a country could ever like Canada become a white man's land. The commercial value to England and America of that country of splendid possibilities together with the normal trade of an un-

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divided and freely developing China would in time become exceedingly great. It seems to me, however, that wholly aside from utilitarian considerations, the altruistic motives alone are of sufficient importance to warrant the suggested joint action of America and England.

This is, nevertheless, as appears to me, the only radical solution of the present tragic situation. Not until some portion of the white race, moved by a sense of the inherent rights of man as man, is ready with heroic spirit to face and if need be to fight a fellow white race in behalf of the yellow, will justice be done to the orient. Not until then will the permanent peace of the world become possible.

In opposition to this plan, it may be urged that it proposes an injustice to Russia, dispossessing her, as it does, of long occupied territory. Yet since this territory was originally seized through military aggression, and would be lost through conquest by Japan, and since the welfare of one-third the human race is thereby secured, the proposition would seem to savour of justice rather than of injustice. It is also clear that, possession of Eastern Siberia is not essential to the existence of Russia, whereas the expulsion of Russia from that country is essential to the

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highest well-being of the Far East. The crimes which Russia has committed in Eastern Siberia and Manchuria would seem to justify her forfeiture of that region, with all the capital invested there.

Have we not yet reached that degree of international development when at least a majority of the nations can agree to set aside their predatory plans and conspire together for the righteous treatment of backward races? Might not their care be one of the special duties entrusted to the Hague Tribunal? Lasting peace will not come to the orient until an occidental people is ready to champion the cause of the Asiatic, but thereafter both the white peril and the yellow, will cease to threaten the peace of the world.

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